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THE SOUTH AS IT IS,

OR

TWENTY-ONE YEARS' EXPERIENCE IN THE
SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA.

BY THE

REV. T. D. OZANNE, M.A.



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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE social condition of the Southern States of the American Union has been so little understood in England, that most of the predictions which were hazarded by politicians, at the time of the outbreak of the War of Secession, were signally at fault. The attention of English travellers had been chiefly directed to the Northern States; and the rest of the country was either hastily traversed, or else scrutinized in an unfriendly spirit, by men whose dislike to slavery was too strong to allow them to be fair observers. Every defect, every weakness, which could be detected in the Slave States was brought prominently forward; and while every accusation was listened to, whatever might be said on the other side was contemptuously ignored. The result was what might have been expected. The high and exaggerated hopes which were placed in the men of the North, as the enlightened and disinterested champions of freedom, were, sadly disappointed, and the hitherto under-

rated Southerner rose in estimation to a degree perhaps even beyond his merits.

Something of the same change has happened in the feelings of the author of this little work. As a European, as an English subject, his early habits, his preconceived opinions, led him to look at first with antipathy upon institutions which were tainted with the plague-spot of slavery; but in the course of a long residence in the Southern States, he saw reason to alter many of his notions, and even, like most converts, to be zealous for the opposite extreme. If, therefore, to the sober-minded reader, he may sometimes seem too sanguine in his expectations, and to view the working of the Southern system in too favourable a light, it should be remembered that his witness is not the less valuable. It is to the credit of the Southerners that they should have won over to their cause an intelligent stranger, whose long residence among them has given him countless opportunities of knowing them well; who, having left them impoverished (owing to the war), and with little hope of being able to return to a climate which has not agreed with him, is a perfectly disinterested advocate.

With regard to two points, however, it is necessary to guard against misapprehension.

1. When slavery is eulogized as enabling the South to possess the means of forming a class of men who have leisure to cultivate their minds, it is

not to be forgotten that such a system can only be wanted where the constitution of the country is ultra-democratical.—Democratical Athens indeed was highly intellectual ; but it was a Slave State.

2. The author distinctly recognizes the fact that slavery is opposed to the spirit of Christianity, which sooner or later must work out its abolition. What he asserts, however, with regard to those who are already slaves,—namely, that the Gospel does not enjoin a premature emancipation, which would be like a rash “putting of new wine into old bottles,”—must by all calm reasoners be allowed to be equally true. The apostles condemned the slave trade by denouncing “men-stealers ;” but in more than one of the Epistles the rights of owners are respected, and even the duty of the slave to his master is set forth. From habitually reading the Scriptures in a translation, we are apt (owing to the use of the word “servant”) to overlook this circumstance ; so much so, that many an honest abolitionist, who teaches his child not to covet his “neighbour’s servant, nor his maid,” does not know that he is telling him not to covet his neighbour’s male or female SLAVE, who is as much a property as “his ox or his ass.”

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THE SOUTH AS IT IS.

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE fearful struggle which is now going on between the Northern and Southern States of North America naturally awakens a desire to know more of the immediate as well as remote causes of the war. It has stirred up for the Confederates, or Southerners, an interest hitherto unfelt. The opportunity, it is to be hoped, is now come for calling attention to their true condition; for it is only when an inquiry is taken up in earnest that truth is likely

to find a hearing with regard to a country of which we mistrust the institutions, and with which our intercourse is chiefly limited to the ports which are the great staples for rice, tobacco, and cotton.

If this war were a contest between two semi-barbarous tribes, in a remote region of country, it would claim at our hands but a passing notice. But this is a civil war of the most bitter and fearful character, a war of threatened extermination on the one hand, and of stubborn resistance, of resolute and manly defence of their own rights and privileges, on the other. If we consider the origin of the great American commonwealth and the character of the mixed populations of which it is composed; the progress which these have made in the arts of civilized life; the development of the boundless resources within their reach; the peculiarity of their institutions, the republican form of their

government, and the freedom, almost amounting to licence, which they enjoy under it; the conquests over the wide wastes of their territory which successive generations of hardy pioneers have achieved, the cities which have grown up, as if by magic, in the course of a few years,—we may grieve lest such a grand political and social problem should too speedily come to a disastrous solution. Our interests, moreover, as a people of the same race and lineage are every year more and more closely identified with theirs. Their prosperity is our wealth, their ruin our loss. Sir Wm. Molesworth, in his seat in Parliament, once called the United States “the best colony of England”—an independent colony, it is true, severed from the mother country, but still bound to her by the closest ties,—a common origin, the same language, similar customs, and, more than all, mutual commercial interests. What

was true of her in 1845, is still more emphatically true of her now. If by this war the people of the late United States be reduced to insignificance, if their productions of all kinds be brought down to the standard of twenty years back, this would be a serious blow to all the nations which keep up commercial relations with them, and, more than all, to England herself. Many thoughtless persons, jealous of such a growing power among the nations of the earth, would exult in its downfall, and feel that as America could no longer dispute with us the supremacy of the seas, or rival our native land in the extent of her commerce, England would reap immense benefit. But this is a great mistake. The more the population of the American States increases in wealth and numbers, the more widely extended will become the interests which bind the two nations together. If in the

year 1840 the commerce with the new country was a great source of wealth to us, when its population did not much exceed seventeen millions, when railways and canals were almost unknown, when steam communication in the Western rivers and on the ocean was in its infancy, what would it not be twenty years hence, with a population of fifty millions, with railways and canals intersecting the whole length and breadth of the land, even to the Pacific !

Nor is the question of our mutual interests the only one which should engage our attention. There are other questions growing out of the present crisis which enlist the attention of the world at large. Many are making the inquiry, What was the cause of this war ? And how will the South be able to sustain itself in so close a conflict with the overwhelming populations of the North, armed as they are with

weapons of the most modern make, and possessing a fleet of iron-clad gun-boats which will give them the mastery of all the inland streams and lakes, and, above all, of the great Mississippi and all its tributaries? And last, though not least, What will be the effect of this war upon the immediate or final emancipation of the Negro race? Each of these questions, and others which naturally spring from them, will receive due attention in the course of this work.

Of vital importance to the country now the seat of war, is the much-mooted question of Negro Emancipation. There is indeed no true Christian philanthropist who would not rejoice at the prospective freedom, whether near or remote, of any of his race still in bondage; but at the same time, other interests, closely bound up with the well-being of the Southern States, must also be considered. In speak-

ing of slavery as it is, and as it has presented itself to his mind in all its phases for more than twenty years past, the writer does not pretend to hold up the system as right in itself, or to advocate the cause of slave-holders ; he would only lift up a warning voice against the fanaticism and bigotry, which, by a violent disruption of the ties that bind master and servant, would, in attempting to benefit the latter, destroy both.

The immediate Emancipationist has for many years been respectfully listened to ; it is now time for the views of the Southern statesmen to be presented—to tell how, in the midst of the fearful contest which is now raging within his borders, he proposes to deal with this important question ; a question which not only affects his pecuniary interests, but also the whole of his social and political existence. It is not as an abstract question that the writer would discuss this topic : his aim is to

treat of the interests of the Anglo-Saxon race in the Slave States; the negro and his welfare coming in incidentally, as closely interwoven with the interests and destiny of the white race. • The great reason why the North and the South have not of late years been able to set themselves right with each other on that vital question of national policy, is that the prejudices of a growing and influential party in the North, against the system of slavery, are so deeply rooted as to prevent them from dealing with the question in an enlightened spirit. Moreover, according to the constitution of the United States, each State has full power to manage all its internal affairs, whether of greater or lesser moment, without any interference on the part of the general Government. It is but justice to that Government to say, that from its rise, until the beginning of this war, it has been true to its pledges.

The Eastern and other free States resisted the carrying out of this provision of the constitution, and organized among themselves a party whose avowed principle of action is unwavering and dire hostility to the further extension of slavery ; whose cry is "an irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom, which can end only with the extinction of African bondage.

Whatever may be the policy of this party, it acts in direct violation of the provision of the constitution just now alluded to ; and it speaks of a higher law, which is above the law of the land, and which is to be the governing principle of all political action. The South has looked upon the election of an Absolutionist candidate to the presidency as a justifiable reason for desiring a peaceable separation. This has been the immediate cause of the war. In the mean time, the war-cry, "The Union whole and undivided," has been raised to deceive

the Conservative party, and so lead them to join heartily in carrying on the war. Thus far it has been successful. But now that the Conservatives see their favourite General M'Clellan superseded by another, who is the protégé of the Republican party, they will open their eyes fully to the secret policy which the President and his Cabinet have at length disclosed.

II.

SYSTEM OF SLAVERY CONSIDERED.

WE stated in our last chapter that the immediate cause of the war was, the formation of a new party, uncompromising and relentless in its opposition to slavery in any form, and in favour of proclaiming the immediate emancipation of the four millions of slaves now in the South, on the election of their candidate to the Presidential chair. Other causes of really greater importance to the North secretly influenced the Abolitionists to hasten the crisis. Of each of these we will speak in their proper place.

Slavery, as is generally known, was abolished in the North at an early period after the formation of the Federal Government. Each State disposed of its slaves to the best advantage; or, if these were old and infirm, made suitable provision for them; and this was done, not because the Northerners were opposed to the principle of slavery as wrong, but because that class of labourers, in their ungenial climate, was profitless to them for at least one-third of the year. So far were they from having any scruples of conscience in the matter, that they carried on the slave trade with the coast of Guinea to the very last period authorized by law (the year 1808); and even now the traffic in slaves is secretly carried on from the coast of Africa to Cuba and Brazil, by vessels which clear from their ports in ballast, and this in direct violation of international law.

But, about thirty years ago, a new sect

arose, whose sole aim was emancipation of the negro, and whose determined purpose was by all means to abolish the institution of slavery. Though few and feeble at first, year by year the Abolitionists grew in numbers and in influence; and while the country, at every Presidential election, was earnestly engaged in setting for ever at rest the various questions of national policy, such as free trade, the rights of suffrage (so far as they related to foreigners), &c., these were restlessly busy in arousing the fanatical spirit so easily kindled in New England, until at length they organized the Black Republican party, whose avowed policy was the non-extension of slavery into the "territories."

The non-extension question has always been a bugbear to what are called "free-soilers." Ignorant of the fact that climate and soil alone can at last determine whether free or slave labour can be most profitably

employed in any section of the country, they wished to set a boundary beyond which a slave population should never pass through. It has been found by experience that slave labour never can be adequately remunerative farther than the limits of the cotton, sugar, tobacco, and rice-growing States, bounded by the 35th degree of north latitude.

Though the institution still exists in the border States, it would gradually have disappeared from among them, either by planters removing with their negroes into a more southern clime, or by progressive emancipation—if the free States had not agitated the question as they have done. While in the wheat, corn, and grazing States, steady employment cannot be found for the negro; in the cotton, sugar, and rice-growing sections of the country, constant work can be given him from the 1st January to the last of December.

The outcry which has been raised against the border States, as being slave-breeding States, is grossly unjust; there being no kinder masters than those of Virginia, Kentucky, and Maryland. They never dispose of their slaves to send them further south, except they have been guilty of some great misdemeanour; and even if sold at a sheriff's sale, they are always readily taken up by the farmers around, so that they rarely quit the neighbourhood. Moreover, Southern planters do not desire to buy negroes from the border States; they prefer those brought up in their own houses, or by persons whom they know can give a good character to the domestics they part with. The attachment of negroes to their masters in Virginia is even, if possible, greater than it is further south, because they are almost all servants brought up in the family, among the children, and not on a plant-

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ation, whose quarter, or negro village, may not always be so near to the mansion as to give the master, mistress, and their children constant opportunities of seeing them. If the Southerners prefer domestics brought up in their homesteads, or those who are members of families which have been known to them from their childhood, least of all may we suppose that they desire to secure such as are imported directly from Africa; and this for several reasons. First, an immense and sudden influx of slaves would at once depreciate the value of their land and of the labourers upon it. Secondly, it would bring in a class of unskilled, and consequently unprofitable tillers of the soil, who would be of little or no value to their masters for years, and who would tend to demoralize the native negro; and lastly, as slavery in the South is the great means of civilizing the savage, and fitting him for freedom, this swelling tide

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of immigration would overflow the land, and greatly interfere with the progress of civilization.

The negro in many respects is like a child, very much influenced by those with whom he is thrown, whether he belongs to an inferior or to a superior race. If by constant association with a higher civilization than his own he rises in the social scale, so that in the course of two or three generations he is altogether different in character, in intellectual culture, and in his physical development, from his progenitor the African; if in language, in manners, and in habits, he gradually assimilates to the white man; if, by means of religious training, he rises to the dignity of manhood, and feels that his master is but a servant of the Most High, like himself, would it not be cruelty to throw him back again into association with savages, who would do him a greater injury than can be

possibly imagined by those who are unacquainted with the negro character? I can but illustrate this by stating what was told me by one of our most experienced missionaries in Liberia. The coloured settler on the coast, who keeps up, in the course of trade, constant intercourse with the white population of other lands, and who is stimulated by every possible motive of interest and profit to maintain his social standing and his Christian character, does not degenerate; but those who, in the interior, are thrown into direct contact with the savage tribes, almost invariably fall back into a state of barbarism. It is a mistake to imagine that the free negro in the North is more civilized than his brother in the South. The free negroes (with the exception of those who have in their early manhood been emancipated by their masters for some faithful service rendered, or because they are deemed ca-

pable of freedom) become a degraded and degenerate race; they may struggle against the difficulties which they have to contend with, they may manfully strive to do their duty in their respective stations in life—but in vain; they daily come in contact with a class of white labourers, their superiors in intelligence, whose greater energy of character sustains them in the midst of difficulties that would crush the spirit of the black man. Besides which, the ban of colour is upon him; he can never find employment as readily as the white man, even if he be his equal in every respect; he is therefore doomed to sink to the lowest grade in the social scale, by the pressure above him. The European labourer will never give him a helping hand; he is his natural enemy, his rival, his superior. Who could resist such a tide of opposition and prejudice? Is it to be wondered at that the negro has no desire

to live in a free State, unless he has been born there? Of such a one the fate is still worse: for mental and moral training, such as can be had among the slaves in the South, is denied him; and he can see nothing but poverty, destitution, and degradation before him, which he leaves as a legacy to his wretched and despairing offspring. Even the climate is against him; the very elements conspire to add to his misery. In the winter, he sits shivering over a scanty fire, in a wretched hovel, neglected and forsaken, and destitute of food, except so far as the widely-diffused charities of the benevolent afford him a precarious subsistence. Are we to blame the Northerners for this state of things? Certainly not! They mete out their supplies to the poor negroes as readily as they do to the sick and suffering among the white population. We can only blame them for desiring to increase the evil, by

encouraging the poor despised African to flee from a state of slavery into a bondage which is ten-fold worse, and which entails incalculable evils upon him and his.

By the system pursued upon plantations, by the careful and systematic training bestowed, by faithful religious instruction, the Southern negro ceases to be, like his progenitor the African, a *savage*; and becomes, in the course of two or three generations, a *civilized man*.

In consequence of the mild government of the planter, and the easy labour demanded of the servant, the negro thrives, and increases rapidly in numbers. He is well fed, well lodged, and comfortably clad. Each family has a separate home; each married couple has a cabin provided for them, with a plot of ground, which they cultivate, and by disposing of the proceeds, make money enough to buy themselves additional comforts, and even

luxuries, which are often beyond the reach of the industrious and thriving white man. In the free States, on the other hand, the suffering negro, destitute of almost the simplest necessities of life, living in filth and in squalid poverty, dwindles away and dies. The numbers even of these *free* inhabitants of the crowded streets of the large Northern cities are kept up only by a constant stream of emigration from the border and other Southern States. If the poor white man is often improvident and reckless of waste, the untaught negro must necessarily be even more so ; for he has no motive to save, no desire to rise above his degradation, because he is hopeless of success.

It is an interesting fact that constant intercourse with the European, in a state of entire dependence upon him, is a decided benefit to the coloured man. He looks up to his master, like a child to a

father (for a child he always is) ; he depends upon him to provide him with all he needs ; and he has a lien upon his master's estate, by which the law secures to him, when he becomes aged or infirm, a comfortable provision for the rest of his days. In a free State, on the other hand, this poor dependent being is thrust aside by the jostling crowd, is forced to live apart, and denied any profitable association with the white man which might tend to elevate him above his exceedingly low level. The weaker, in this case, goes to the wall. The few intelligent ones, who, by constant association with whites, in a somewhat more elevated condition, as servants in hotels, barbers, and other such employments, become almost equal to those around them, are a striking exception to the general rule.

So completely does the negro need the guiding hand and the directing head,

that if left to himself he is sure to fail. A few instances will serve as an illustration of this fact. In the State of Georgia, numerous cotton and woollen factories have been established, the work of which is entirely carried on by negroes, under the guidance of a superintendent. It has been remarked that, owing to their imitative talent, they often become skilful hands, good mechanics, well acquainted with all the varied operations required of them ; so much so as to lead one to suppose they could direct and control all the complicated machinery as well as any other man. But if left to themselves, even for a short time, all would go wrong ; either the rest of the operatives will not be guided by a fellow-servant, or the latter, though able to do his own work well, is unable to direct the work of others.

Another instance also occurred in the same State. A wealthy planter having

determined upon making a hazardous experiment to test the self-guiding power of his plantation hands, whom he had already carefully trained and taught, assembled them together, on the last of December of a certain year, and told them that he would leave his estate in their charge for a given number of years. To give them a fair trial, he furnished them with the necessary implements of husbandry ; with horses, mules, and other stock ; with provisions, corn, meat, and clothing, for one year ; with the necessary buildings in good repair, and required to be so kept : at the same time appointing some of the most capable servants to manage and direct the different departments of labour. At the end of five years, he returned, and found every family on the place in a starving condition, destitute of everything ; the buildings falling into decay, all the instruments used in agriculture lost or broken,

with one solitary mule on the farm, the last denizen of a wild waste of neglected fields, already overrun with wood. He resumed his former system of management, satisfied that one directing mind would have prevented these disasters, one controlling influence have led these willing hands to cheerful labour, leaving them happy and contented in their dependent condition. The slave has a life-interest in his master's estate, and therefore knows that, when he becomes either aged or infirm, ample provision is made for his subsistence : in fact, he feels himself to be no insignificant or useless member of a large family ; his interests are bound up with those of his owner, the prosperity of the one securing the comfortable support of the other. Though a bondman, he does not feel like a slave.

Instance upon instance rises before us, in which the faithfulness of the negro has

been tested since the commencement of the war. Many have followed their masters to the battle-field, and have fought bravely by their side. A regiment composed of negroes alone could be driven by a handful of white men, like chaff before the wind ; but by the side of one to whom he is devotedly attached, the negro becomes at once a soldier.

Planters have often put weapons into the hands of the negroes for the defence of their homes and families. A gentleman who has now three plantations under his charge (all his sons having gone to the war), always commits his family to the care of the most trustworthy man on the place, whenever he is called upon to visit any of the other farms, supplying him with arms and ammunition without any misgivings as to the result.

The rule of the Southerner over his domestics is mild and yet firm (he *must*

not be disobeyed), while the Northerner, not understanding the negro character, is most likely to be harsh in his treatment, though he exacts no more labour than he would require of his own brother.

When the Federals attempted to dig a canal opposite Vicksburg, so as to change the channel of the Mississippi, they seized by force five thousand negroes from the neighbouring plantations to do the work, exacting far more labour from them than the slave is accustomed to ; chaining them moreover, hand and foot, each night, to prevent their escape. The consequence was, that, owing to scanty fare and too hard work, many of the men died ; and when the task was given up, the remnant left behind presented a most sad and gloomy sight to the beholder. As released contrabands, they returned home, somewhat wiser than they went, and impressed the rest of their fellows with the idea that

Yankee masters were not all they were said to be. Give the labourer on the plantation a certain amount of work, and he will do it cheerfully; but attempt to impose any more than his appointed task upon him (except in a case of emergency), it will not answer; no persuasion, no threats, no punishment, will force him to do more. Call a servant to you, endeavour to hasten his laggard pace, urge him on, he will still steadily advance at his own sluggish gait. At the second battle of Bull-run (1862), a negro boy, who had followed his young master to the field, watched his steps with the utmost solicitude, mindful of the promise he had given to the old folks at home to look after him; and when the object of his care, with several others from the same neighbourhood, fell dead in the conflict, he went to the Federal General, and begged the body of the young man. His request having been granted, he purchased at his

own expense seven metallic coffins, in which he deposited the remains of his master and of the youths who had fallen with him, took them to their homes hundreds of miles away, and delivered them to their friends. As a testimony of their gratitude, they offered him his freedom upon the spot, which he declined accepting; assigning as a reason, that the bereaved family required his services more than ever, and therefore he would continue with them the rest of his days.

In attempting to give a faithful representation of the negro as he is, we ought to set before our readers the highest type of the fully developed man with which we are acquainted, as well as the lowest. A certain Uncle Tom was a fine specimen of the former. Though a coal-black negro, he did not exhibit the repulsive features of the native Guineaman—projecting under jaw, blubber lips, flat nose, lack-lustre

eye, and retreating forehead. His features were fine. He had a bright and intelligent face, lighted up by a keen, piercing black eye; and his forehead gave promise of something above the common standard. Being a house-carpenter by trade, he would frequently undertake to put up the largest frame buildings; other parties becoming responsible for his contracts. He was a good workman, ingenious, enterprising, and industrious; and such was the confidence reposed in him, and the punctuality of his payments, that he could readily secure any number of workmen he might need. As he paid but a limited sum per annum to his master, all the profits as well as the risks of his enterprise were his own. He showed great ability in managing his hands, and in directing the various departments of the work; and though busily engaged in superintending others, he would accomplish a great deal himself, infusing

into others some of his energy. His cabin was on my premises, as his wife was a servant in my house: it was neat, comfortably furnished, and supplied with every necessary; he had moreover a horse and chaise of his own, and on Sunday he would drive out to meeting, with his wife and child, a distance of several miles.

One spring, he asked and obtained leave of his master to visit the children of his first wife in Camden, South Carolina. He set out with about £200, the fruit of his savings; travelled through the States of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, and reached Camden safely. After having spent some time with his children, and given them presents, he returned home, late in the summer. In the course of those few months, he travelled over 1500 miles; visited some of the principal towns in each State he passed through; preached, on various occasions,

to crowded coloured congregations of the Methodist denomination ; and on his arrival in his native town, was kindly welcomed back by all—every one, white and black, being glad to see him, greeting him with a hearty grasp of the hand, and making inquiries about the various members of the family he had left behind.

A short time previous, his master, seeing how well able he was to provide for himself, offered him his “free-papers.” These the man declined accepting, saying that he was already as free as he could desire ; and besides, he asked, who, if he were emancipated, would provide for his old age ? Now he had a comfortable home, and he looked for no better ; he had a kind and indulgent mistress, to whom and to her children he was so attached, that he could not consent to sunder the bonds which united them so closely.

III.

THE RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH.

IN estimating the resources of the South for carrying on a defensive war—a war conducted under very great disadvantage—we must not overlook any one element of its strength, nor forget that it is engaged in a contest for life and liberty. Beset as the Southern States are by a gigantic blockading fleet which paralyses their commerce, rendering the great staple products of their soil unavailable to them as a means of wealth, what is left to them but to turn their attention to the undeveloped resources

which lie hidden beneath their own soil, and to arouse the latent energies of a great people? The North has made a great mistake in looking upon the South as a poor country. Previous to the war, its income from the cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco crops, none of which are, strictly speaking, necessities of life, was immense. Besides this, the wheat crop was heavier than that of the North and West combined, while that of the Indian corn and potato almost defied calculation. This mistake arose from the fact that the Southern States are almost exclusively agricultural; that in them there are very few towns which are great centres of commerce, or which are engaged in the production of the various articles of manufacture so conducive to the development of a foreign trade. They were dependent upon the North, not only for the product of its looms or of the

forge, but for much of the very food with which they fed their numerous dependents, for almost every article imported from abroad, for every luxury they enjoyed—nay, sometimes for the very houses they dwelt in. The North was the factory, and the great channel of foreign and domestic trade, while the South, with its millions of labourers, supplied the raw material for the spindle and the loom, the sugar and the rice, the tobacco and the hemp, which in the Northern ports became great staples of commerce, and a source of incalculable wealth.

The annual money value of the agricultural products of the South, cotton, sugar, and rice, cannot have been less than sixty millions sterling, for some two or three years past. Cotton, owing to a better method of cultivation and a careful selection of seed, has improved

in quality as well as in quantity year by year: the staple is longer, the fibre tougher, and more silky. The juice of the sugar-cane, now evaporated in vacuum pans, granulates better, and is of a quality superior to that of any sugar grown even in more southern latitudes. By thus depending upon its own resources, and developing them to the utmost, the South need not suffer greatly for the lack of those necessities hitherto supplied by other countries. It has four millions of black and coloured men exclusively engaged in the tillage of the soil, in the manufacture of the coarsest articles of every-day wear, and in the construction of railways. In the field and in the factory these are invaluable, an element of strength; whereas in the field of battle, they would be an element of weakness. The whole country, this summer, was one extensive planta-

tion of wheat, maize, and potatoes; no cotton was to be seen, except in small patches for family use. It is estimated that the present crop of cereals will not only supply the wants of a large standing army, together with those of the families that stay at home, busily engaged in making clothes, shoes, hats, and socks, for the warriors in the field, but it will furnish food for thousands, nay tens of thousands, of hogs, beeves, and sheep, which will make up for the lack of Western supplies. Texas alone has a sufficiently large quantity of flour to feed the entire South; it is also sending twenty thousand head of cattle at a time for the support of the army, and can continue doing so for an indefinite period.

Let us look, for a moment, at the resources of the South, such as they were at the commencement of the war.

The Southerners were altogether unprepared for the contest: they had no fleets, no armies, no weapons or munitions of war; and all that was to be done had to be effected by an army of volunteers, raised at a moment's warning, and armed as best they could. Imagination cannot picture vividly enough things as they were. The determined spirit of the people rose up equal to the occasion; thousands upon thousands rushed to arms, and rallied at the call of their chosen leaders. At the battle of Bull-run, this army, hastily mustered up, as yet but imperfectly disciplined, and still more badly armed, drove back and utterly routed an army better accoutred indeed, and better supplied, but not fighting for their homes and their fire-sides.

Every Southerner is born a soldier, being accustomed to arms from his youth; and if led by good generals, what cannot

an army of such materials, fired with such a spirit of enthusiasm, well trained and carefully drilled, accomplish? The history of the campaign from Bull-run to Antietam is before the world. Men have seen armies destitute of every comfort, often without shoes, hats, or coats, looking more like a rabble than a regularly organized host, lacking even a sufficiency of the weapons of war until they had snatched them from the enemy's hand, maintaining their ground, and even driving off the foe from their soil.

Communication with Europe was almost entirely cut off, and supplies could hardly be expected from thence, though the sympathy of many cheered and encouraged them to persevere in their resistance. Left to themselves, they had to provide arms, ammunition, clothing, and stores for an army of half a million or more, and to furnish means for the estab-

lishment of hospitals for the sick and wounded. With the emergency, came the opportunity to show what could be done by a united people to face it. Manufactories of various kinds have sprung up to meet the demand; leather, linseys, woollens, home-spun goods, all find a ready market.

The North, according to its own admission, has almost throughout underrated the power of the South. This is the testimony of one of the leading minds in the war party; for the war has shown that they undervalued the strength and the advantage of a slave civilization.

No base, cowardly, idle, worthless people could have waged war as the South has done. It is necessary for people to concede this, to put themselves in any proper attitude to estimate the nature of this contest, and the way out of it. Whatever, then, is good or spirited, intellectual

or moral, in the South, quite as well as what is selfish or ambitious, is pledged to the war. There never was a community animated by a greater unanimity, or willing to make greater sacrifices to demonstrate their sincerity and achieve their purposes.

The North supposed that there was a large Union party under duress in the South, and a large Southern party under similar duress in the North. The war was considered as the result of a conspiracy on the part of Southern politicians to retain Federal power. Slavery was imagined to be a dry powder-magazine, requiring only a spark to set it in a blaze of universal destruction to the white population. The South, too, had no reputation for consistency, for resources, for manufactures, for power to carry on a long defensive or offensive war. All these expectations have proved to be fallacious, and the

North is fully alive to the gigantic proportions of a warfare, which one of its factions has dared to provoke.

There are also other considerations which will have great influence in determining the results of this war. If the twenty millions of the North feel that their numbers be so great an element of strength as to lead them to defy with impunity the armies of the South, raised amid a population of only eight millions, still there are difficulties for their overwhelming numbers to meet with, which may put their power to the severest test. The mere extent of territory which they will have to subdue; the impossibility, even with their immense fleet of gun-boats, to do more than reach the borders of the States they will have to overrun; the necessity they will be under of dividing their large force of seven hundred thousand men, to hold the ground already gained, and to

repel assaults at points feebly guarded; their absolute inability, in however large a body they may advance, to move far from the shelter of their gun-boats, or to carry heavy supplies with them through a hostile country filled with the irregular troops of the South, — all these and many other reasons can be given, to show that though they may harass and distress their vigilant enemy, and even cut them off from all intercourse with the rest of the world, still they cannot follow them into their interior, beyond the reach of navigable streams; nor will they generally succeed in carrying off a large number of “contrabands,” as these will be taken up the country with the wives and families of those who fight the battles of their land. They may gain victories of the most brilliant character, under their present leader General Burnside; but even

then these victories will not lead to the conquest of the country.

The policy of Fabius Maximus, pursued by Southern commanders, combined with a sudden assault, from an unexpected quarter, on an army unprepared to repel it, will be too much even for "the Man of the Hour!"

If the wooden walls of old England have always been its best defence against threatened invasion, what resource is left to the South, against the Northern fleets of iron-clads, which, with their floating batteries, are menacing their river coasts and inland seas? Nothing but a living wall of brave men, with stout hearts and strong arms, led on by such Generals as Johnstone, Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and others, whose deeds are inscribed on the roll of fame, never to be blotted out from the memories of a devoted people. The

chiefs of the armies of the South are quite equal to General Burnside in talent, in experience, in dash even ; and though he may at Antietam have proved himself worthy of the position he now fills, he may not be sustained by his subordinates as thoroughly as his trying position may require.

It is certainly to be hoped that the policy of the North during the present session of Congress, which opened on the 4th of December, will not be to push the South to extremities, and to drive the people to the most desperate resistance ; but rather to conciliate them, so as to bring about an honourable peace, on such terms as will meet the views of the wisest statesmen of both nations.

The cotton crop of 1861 was estimated at four million two hundred thousand bales. Stock yet on hand, three million bales.

IV.

**THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT—COMMERCIAL
POLICY—SYSTEM OF FINANCE.**

IN the formation of their Government, the members of the Southern provisional Congress sought to make no unnecessary changes. They only removed those defects which eighty years of experience had enabled them to discover. The first step was to make the candidate for the Presidency of the Confederacy eligible to the office only for one term of six years; thus preventing the great evil of tempting the first magistrate of the country so to shape his

course as to win popularity with the crowd, and thus secure his re-election. Another important change was that not only the Judges of the Supreme and other Courts should hold office for life, or *dum se bene gesserint*, as under the old constitution, but also that the same rule should extend to all offices in the gift of the Government.

This greatly lessens danger of any flagrant abuse of patronage; and it places the holders of office in an independent position, not exposing them to the temptation of forgetting their duty for the sake of securing the suffrages of corrupt or ignorant voters. Instead of a multitude of office-seekers besieging the doors of the White House, as soon as the President-elect takes his seat, there will be only an occasional application as a vacancy occurs; and thus time will be given for public opinion to examine

into the merits of the applicant, and the appointment will not depend so exclusively on his political services, or his faithfulness to the party in power.

The doctrine of "State rights", and of the right of each State to secede from the General Government, in the event of its being burdened with some great grievance which that Government will not remove, dates as far back as the adoption of the Constitution in the year 1789. The two parties then opposed to each other, the Federals and the Democrats, differed widely as to the extent of the powers delegated by the Constitution to the General Government. The Federal party, with Alexander Hamilton at their head, were in favour of a strong central Government, which would interpose effectual checks upon the abuse of any power by each independent State; the States themselves being dependencies

of a general Congress composed of the wisest, best, and ablest men, whom, through the agency of their legislatures, they could send to represent themselves and their interests.

The Democrats, with Jefferson at their head, looked upon the States as independent Governments, which granted to the general Constitution only such powers as were indispensably necessary to the faithful carrying on of that Government, enabling it to represent these several independent constitutions as one, at harmony with itself; all its interests being closely bound up with those of each member of the Confederacy. This doctrine became popular in the South, while the opposite view gained increasing influence year after year in the North. The South stood up for individual State rights; the North was willing to forego many of these claims for the sake of securing a

strong Government, which would make itself respected abroad, and feared by all radical and disorganizing bodies at home. Each seems to have desired just the Government most suited to their necessities, and to their ideas of what constituted the best and surest safeguard of the rights of the individual man. This led the State of South Carolina, in 1833, to stand up for State rights, when there seemed to be a disposition on the part of the General Government to take to itself powers not expressly granted by constitutional laws. This doctrine, which had been suffered to slumber in forgetfulness for years, has gained ground in the South in consequence of the disposition of the Northern States to encroach upon the rights and institutions specially belonging to them; the system of slavery, which, as we have already seen, formerly existed in all the States, being the chief

point of attack. It has now, since the election of Lincoln to the Presidency, and the public avowal of the principles of the Chicago platform, taken the form of secession.

Other States, influenced by South Carolina (though not fully committed to the doctrine of the right of each State to secede at will and form a separate Government), looking upon a revolution as the only remedy now open to them, adopted the policy of secession, though in most instances favourable to the system of co-operation. And no sooner was the revolution accepted throughout the South as an accomplished fact, and the Government established, than the war followed, spreading desolation over the land.

Now the doctrine of separate secession on the part of any one State, though received and acted upon as a revolu-

tionary principle, is not necessarily the sentiment of any Southern State: it is much feared by the North as a principle of disorganizing character, and will never take firm hold of the public mind there, the tendency among the Northerners being rather to the centralization of all extraordinary powers in the hands of the General Government. In fact, none but a strong Government could restrain or even check the radical tendencies of certain parties in the free States; and the Conservative members of society feel this so deeply, that they seem willing to concede all that Government may through its Congress think fit to demand. It may, on the other hand, be said, that in the South the seeds of disunion must grow out of the principle of secession; yet this is not the case: for in many of the States it was not adopted as a rule for future action, but was only set

up as a revolutionary war cry. The republicanism of the South is essentially modified by the aristocratic element which runs through the whole of its social system, and which is almost unknown in the North, except as an aristocracy of wealth and intelligence in the large centres of commerce; this principle overrules those radical tendencies which would otherwise prevail. Besides, the strength of any Government, whatever may be its form, lies in the affections of a people who have intelligence enough to value their privileges, without desiring any changes but such as are approved of by the Constitution and demanded by the law of progress. Even in England itself, the freest nation perhaps on earth, if the Government did not rest in the affections of the people, and commend itself to the full approval of all intelligent and well-balanced minds, it would

not stand. It has the inherent power of adapting itself to the growing wants and necessities of a progressive people, and that is all a truly loyal nation can desire. For many years past, the radical changes in the constitutions of the different States excited a feeling of alarm in the minds of thoughtful men. Judges who were elected for two years by the popular vote were greatly tempted to bribe the mob, by popular rather than by just and legal decisions.

Let us take a case in point. When the Hon. William Yerger, in the Supreme Court of the State of Mississippi, gave his decision in favour of the validity of the bonds of the State, which the people had refused to pay, though his decision was approved of beyond the limits of the State, he, in consequence of his conduct in the matter, was thrown out at the next election of Judges. The class of men who

court the popular vote to secure these important offices, are generally least worthy of them. The General Government, being essentially Conservative in its character, has never adopted this system; and yet such are the revolutionary tendencies of a war Government, that the decision of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case, and his letter on the course pursued by the President in reference to the Habeas Corpus Act, though so eminently Conservative, were not generally approved of in the Northern States. We have said that the Southern Congress in its legislation desired to make no changes except such as were shown by past experience to be indispensable. The commercial policy of the United States had always been directly opposed to the interests of the South and West. The North demanded high tariffs for the protection of home industry in

the manufacturing and mining districts, while the agricultural States called for further remission of duties. The tariff of 1846 was, through the influence of Southern members, very liberal, and consequently acceptable to the aggrieved States.

Legislation has always hitherto been in favour of Northern interests. It led to the centralization of capital in Northern cities; so that the traffic on Southern exchanges alone yielded an immense income to the brokers, which, together with the profits on importations, was a heavy tax upon the South. There can be no more beautiful an illustration of the benefits of free trade than was furnished by the unrestricted commerce between the different States of the Union. There were no customs levied through the length and breadth of the land; in the valley of the Mississippi especially, the most extensive

traffic was carried on, the most valuable products of every latitude were mutually exchanged. The sugar and cotton of the South paid for the pork, beef, and other products of the West and North-West.

The navigation laws were peculiarly oppressive to the Southerners; for as these had no commercial navy of their own, the whole coasting trade from Maine to California, viâ Cape Horn, was in the hands of the Northerners, and to them exceedingly profitable, because they had no rivals. The Northerners have said practically, "We are the country, and the South is but a dependent colony of our great Republic." When the revolution broke out, and Southerners seized the forts, light-houses, arsenals, mints, &c., within their limits, the cry was raised in the North, "The South has robbed us of our property; with money out of the Federal treasury have we built all these,

and they belong to us." As though the South had not, for two-thirds of a century,* paid full two-thirds of the revenue into the National treasury! But no, the North was the country, and to it the South must tamely submit.

Nothing but the superior statesmanship of the Southern members of Congress kept the Government together and preserved the balance of power. The Radical Republicanism so rife in the North, did not extend to the South, nor did it exert any influence upon its people; the members from the South for a long time stemmed the tide of Radicalism in the North, which year by year was rising and swelling like an overflowing river, ready at any moment to burst its banks, and to spread ruin and desolation far and wide.

But as soon as Southern statesmen

* Since 1795, the era of the invention of the cotton gin.

were free to carry out their own principles, a different policy in their commercial relations with other powers was pursued by them. Having, as a nation of planters, an immense export trade, and no shipping, their first care was to abolish within the limits of their territory those odious navigation laws which had so long restricted trade, and given it as a monopoly to their Northern neighbours, thereby at once opening their immense coasting trade to the world ; so that the North must now compete with England and France on equal terms.

Import duties were also reduced to a scale which was designed to secure only such revenue as would be sufficient to carry on the Government, not to protect home industry.

While all the native products of the Western States were to be admitted without duty, the free navigation of the Mis-

Mississippi and its tributaries was given to them as an outlet for their growing commerce with foreign lands.

The Black Republican party in the North is professedly fighting for the Union. It is not fighting against the system of slavery as morally and religiously wrong; it is warring against it, because it gives too much political power to the South, too much influence to that splendid class of men of leisure, the material of which Southern statesmen are made.

Fighting for the Union also means with them, struggling to keep in their own possession that profitable commerce with the South, which is evidently slipping through their fingers and eluding their hitherto firm grasp; the duties upon foreign goods being also applied to the products of the Northern looms. It is easy to perceive the one-sided legislation of Northern statesmen, by the Morrell tariff

passed in Congress since the secession of the Southern members. It almost amounts to a prohibition of trade with foreign nations ; and if it were not for the war and the closing of many factories, the market would cease to be extensively supplied with English and French manufactures. New York, merchants complain loudly of the injury done to their commercial interests ; importers are ruined by the high tariff, and by the exorbitant rates of exchange with Europe, which, caused by want of confidence in American securities, now prevails. Had the members of both Houses well considered the measure, instead of hurrying it through Congress ; or had they, in the first stages of its progress, consulted the very merchants whose experience would have been of great value to them in committee, there would have been less just cause of complaint.

Lastly, the statesmen of the South have inaugurated a system of finance, adapted to their peculiar condition as an agricultural rather than a commercial people, and designed to meet present emergencies. And though they had in their storehouses and on their plantations products of the soil, which on the removal of the blockading fleets could at once be exchanged for the precious metals, or for the manufactured articles of other distant lands, these were now unavailable resources: they could get no revenue, even from the light tariff laid upon foreign importations; neither could they impose very heavy taxes upon a people entirely cut off from any trade with the rest of the world.

There was nothing left them but to negotiate loans, either with foreigners or with the people at home. The bonds of the proposed loans, bearing eight per cent.

interest, were eagerly taken up, at or above par, both by citizens and by foreign capitalists. No sooner did that terrible blockade, which surrounded them like a wall of fire, come between them and other nations, than all revenues were cut off, and the loans already made were found to be totally inadequate to the growing wants of the Confederate States, with a fearful war on their hands; and therefore "demand" notes of various denominations were issued by the Secretary of the Treasury, to meet the difficulty. These notes soon became the chief circulating medium of the country (the bills of the various banks, redeemable with specie, having been gradually called in), and were amply sufficient for home traffic. The banks of New Orleans, the commercial emporium of the South, set the example, using the new paper currency in

their now limited business transactions. Just before the capture of the city by the Federals, they sent up the country twenty-five millions of dollars in gold, bought up foreign exchanges, and redeemed such of their notes as were still in the hands of their fellow-citizens ; so that when Butler passed an order that Confederate notes were no longer legal tender, the circulating medium was reduced to Federal treasury notes brought in by the enemy, besides a few notes of the different banks still in circulation, and some specie at thirty and a quarter per cent. premium, all of which were totally inadequate for the purposes of trade, even when reduced to the buying and selling of the necessities of life from day to day. In Mississippi, where there are no banks of issue, the only paper money in use was that of the Treasury, together with a

limited amount of small notes for the convenience of change, issued by the railway companies in the State, under a special act of authorization from the State legislature. This State also effected a loan of several millions, the bonds of which, bearing ten per cent. interest, readily sold at ten per cent. premium; besides all this, several planters subscribed each a certain number of cotton bales—some their whole crop,—on the basis of which they received one-fifth of the value in currency, to enable them to pay their taxes and to buy supplies. The interest of all these loans, payable in specie, is met by a system of direct taxation. In the mean time, to prevent a glut of the paper money in use, and to keep it down to the level of the wants and requirements of trade, every inducement is held out to capitalists to invest their funds in Govern-

ment securities. The Treasury also issues notes, called relief notes, of a hundred dollars and upwards, bearing interest at seven three-tenths per cent., to redeem all surplus demand notes; withdrawing thus just so much from the floating capital of the country.

There is still a very large amount of gold and silver in the land, which as it cannot (in common with all Southern commodities) be exported, is applied by the Treasury of the Confederacy to the payment of the interest on the funded debt, and to the giving one-third of his monthly pay in coin to the soldier who fights the battles of the country.

If the war results in a peace favourable to the Southern cause, then the country has at once the means of redeeming all its issues by the sale of its cotton and other staples. If otherwise, total

and irretrievable ruin hangs over the whole land, and envelopes it in midnight gloom. The South is now fighting for life, for liberty, for honour; and each man feels that his interests are closely bound up with those of his country. If that is lost, all else is lost.

V.

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE SOUTH.

“EVERY state of society,” says a Northern writer, “the most savage and barbarous, as well as the most civilized, has its peculiar virtues and recommendations.” This is especially true of Southern civilization. Southern society has most of the virtues of an aristocracy, increased in zest by the democratic form of government, and the freedom of discussion on all topics fostered by it. It is picturesque, patriarchal, genial. It makes a landed gentry, it founds families, it favours leisure and field sports; it de-

velopes a special class of thoughtful, responsible, guiding, and protecting minds; it tends to elevation of sentiment and refinement of manners. No candid mind will deny the peculiar charm of Southern young men at College, or Southern young women in society. How far race and climate, independent of servile institutions, may have produced the Southern chivalric spirit and manners, need not now be considered. But we might as well deny the small feet and hands of that people, as deny a certain inbred habit of command, a contempt of life in defence of honour or class, a talent for political life, and an easy control of inferiors. Nor is this merely an external flashy heroism; it is real. It showed itself in Congress early and always, by the courage, eloquence, skill, and success, with which it controlled majorities. It showed itself in the social life of Washington, by the

grace, fascination, and ease, the free and charming hospitality, by which it governed society. It shows itself in this war, in the orders and proclamations of its generals, in the messages of its Congress, and in the essentially good breeding and humanity (contrary to a diligently encouraged public impression) with which it not unfrequently divides its medical stores, and gives to the sick and wounded of the Federal army as tender care as it is able to extend to its own soldiers. Surely the war must have increased the respect felt by the North for the South. The miraculous development of its resources; the bravery of its troops, their patience under hardships, their unshrinking firmness in maintaining the position they have assumed; the wonderful success with which it has extemporized manufactures and munitions of war, and kept up relations with the outer world in spite of a

magnificent blockade ; the elasticity with which it has risen from defeat, and the courage it has shown in again and again threatening the Federal capital, cannot fail to extort an unwilling admiration and respect from its enemies.

Well is General M'Clellan reported to have said privately, as he watched the obstinate fighting of the men of the South at Antietam, and saw them retiring in perfect order in the midst of the most frightful carnage : " What terrific neighbours these would be ; we must conquer them, or they will conquer us ! "

The whole North, in calculating the effect which would be produced by the proclamation of the President, was mistaken in all that it hoped, feared, and asserted. The Abolitionists were wrong in describing slavery as a political tinder-box at home : instead of the weakness, it has proved the strength of the South. No

tendency to insurrection, no infidelity to their masters, no general disposition to welcome the advances of the Northern troops, has yet been evidenced among the slaves ; except perhaps in the last expedition on the Florida coast, where negro troops were sent into the interior, and brought in a large number of contrabands. Nor is there the least reason to think that the proclamation (despite that alleged widely-extended telegraphic system, by which the credulous among the people are led to believe that the slaves put to shame more civilized methods of communication), will give rise to any of the perils associated with it in our alarmed imaginations. The educated deference, not to say the educated affection, of the black man for the white, seems to make the white population far safer amid an overwhelming negro race, than any theory had prepared us to anticipate.

Having spoken of the planter and his responsibilities to his dependents, we would now picture him in his Southern home with his family and servants around him. Whether slavery be a moral evil or not, need not here be discussed ; we will view it in this chapter simply as a social institution, so interwoven with every event in Southern life, with every interest, that it may be said to be the basis of the social fabric. The Southern character, as we have seen, is determined by it. The habit of command, the refinement of social intercourse in the very highest circles, the peculiar bent which the intellectual powers of the cultivated man seem to take, all receive the impress of that one great fact, that the institution of slavery has for generations exerted its influence over the dominant class as well as over the dependent. It binds the closest ties between master and servant, mistress and maid, of

an attachment such as is rarely understood by Northerners, and but seldom seen in England. Any individual who has for the first time visited a planter's home, would at once see that the house-servants form, in a peculiar and special sense, a part of the family. The children brought up among them, look upon them as play-mates and companions ; and as they grow up, treat them with kindness, consideration, and affection. They love their nurses almost as they would a mother. If the young lady goes away from home to school, her servant, or nurse, will not rest until she can call to see her, and inquire about her welfare ; the former—unlike her white Northern sisters—will rush into the arms of her old “mammy,” and kiss her repeatedly, asking a number of questions about all the loved ones at home, not forgetting some little pet negro on the place ; and perhaps the nurse may

bring with her some little delicacy or some little token of regard for her darling. If one of the sons of the family bring home to himself a bride, the first thing, after having introduced her to his parents and brothers and sisters, is to take her to the servants' quarter, and to go through the same form with them all; but specially with his old nurse, who may have been his father's also. Again and again have I witnessed the friendly greetings exchanged between servants and their masters and mistresses, who visit their quarters at stated intervals, and listen with attention to the history of their little ailments, attend to their comforts, soothe their sorrows, and sympathize with them in their deepest afflictions. The negroes gather round the young pet son or daughter, amusing themselves with its innocent prattle; they often give earnest heed to the older ones, when they read to them out of some book, and above all if it

happens to be the Word of God. They feel proud that young master or mistress can read so nicely ; and they will perhaps give them some little present, either a piece of cake, or fruit grown in their own garden-patch. The effect of such an education as this upon the children of the master's family, is that it fosters feelings of gentleness and kindness towards those who may afterwards be dependent upon them for their natural life.

When the proprietor goes over his plantation, which he does almost every day, he superintends all the chief departments of farm work ; gives directions to the overseer, inquires of him how the hands are doing, who is sick, or idle, and who are the most faithful and steady workmen on the place. He goes through the various fields on horse-back ; watches the men at work ; speaks to one, nods to another, gives kind words here, reproofs

there, and when required, serious reprimands. But all is done with such dignity and firmness, that while the servant appreciates his kindness, he stands in awe of him. Punishment is commonly reserved for extreme cases. Notorious idlers or constant offenders are generally subjected to the strictest discipline, to constant work under a master's eye. Brutal treatment of a negro by an overseer is punished with instant dismissal, or even by prosecution in a court of law. If an overseer be trustworthy, he is promoted to a more responsible situation ; so that when, for instance, a planter has another farm at a distance, he entrusts it to him, placing it almost entirely under his management, with wages in proportion to the responsibilities of his position. It is a perfect jubilee for the servants when a planter makes his rounds, to visit such out-stations, especially if he be accompanied by

his wife ; for he never fails to look after and notice them all, one by one, inquiring most kindly after their health and comforts, feeling deeply interested in them. On these occasions, he will either give a hearty approval of the course which his overseer pursues, or (if he finds cause for censure) he will admonish him privately.

Since the rapid increase of railways through the country, many gentlemen engaged in the duties of a professional life, purchase plantations in some fertile region, which they visit with ease at stated intervals, or (if necessary) when sent for. The smaller planters live on their places, and sometimes labour with the negroes in the field ; their wives and daughters, with the older women-servants, doing all the carding, spinning, weaving, and sewing, for the entire household. It is a mistake to suppose the planter's

life to be one of indolence and ease. While he enjoys all the comforts and luxuries that his estate can produce or money buy, he has to attend most faithfully to his interests, otherwise they would necessarily suffer; he has to realize the responsibilities of his position, proportioned to the extent of his plantations, and must depend much on the experience, skill, and faithfulness of his overseer; who, though he may be a good and valuable servant, may require to be watched over, and to be directed by his master's orders. An overseer of the first class does not seek employment under a man who cannot appreciate his untiring zeal in his service. "The eye of the servant looketh to the hand of his master, and the eye of a maiden to the hand of her mistress." I once saw a planter reprove a negro in the woods for working too slowly; he showed him how to proceed, and left him.

There was no harshness in his manner ; a mild and firm tone alone gave expression to his disapprobation : the servant, though looked after by no one, at once went heartily to work, and never relaxed his labour until the approach of evening compelled him to desist.

Servants on plantations are seldom overworked : for it is the nature of a negro to work cheerfully up to a certain point, beyond which he never goes ; * and

* Indians, though *usually unwilling* to work, will in the cotton-picking season come from a distance, encamp in the woods near a plantation, and gladly engage in the labour, because it is slight, merely requiring lightness of hand. These are a singular race—finely-formed men, with dark handsome features ; but the women almost all ugly, their skins looking as if they had been dried up in the smoke of their own camp fires. They are very taciturn, never apparently exchanging words with each other, but merely uttering grunts of approbation or of dislike. I once gave a flashy waistcoat to one of them : he took it in his hand, and held it up, looking fixedly at me all the while ; and when I motioned to him to put it on, he

it would be considered useless cruelty to urge him on to do more. The chief difficulty for a planter is to know what is the capacity of each field-hand, which experience alone can teach him.

It is most interesting to witness the regularity and system which prevails on a well-managed plantation. When a planter opens some new land,—usually in the beginning of the year, after the first of January, which to the negroes is always a grand holiday,—a whole gang sally forth into the woods, with their axes, mallets, and wedges, to cut down

danced and capered in his new finery round the camp fire, uttering guttural sounds of delight, evidently in the highest glee imaginable. The squaws, with their young papooses slung on their backs, would come in bad weather into the house, and sit by the fire for hours together, without uttering a sound, or giving any other expression of feeling than a stealthy, vacant stare. On receiving a present, they relax their expressionless features to some extent, showing evident pleasure, but returning no thanks.

trees fit to make rails, and to split them for fences, this work occupying them some weeks. When the field is fenced in, all the larger trees are girdled with the axe, a ring being cut deep into the bark ; if this does not kill them at once, it at least prevents their putting forth leaves to shade the ground. The underwood and roots are all carefully removed ; the land is then ploughed and thoroughly prepared for the planting, which begins on the first of April, when the cotton seed is dropped by young boys and girls who follow the plough, taking two rows at a time, and covering up the seed as they pass on. All throughout the summer must the ground be alternately ploughed and hoed, to prevent the rapid growth of grass and weeds from choking the young plant ; which, when in blossom, presents a most beautiful sight : the balls soon form, and, as they ripen, burst open, and


the white, silky floss hangs down, awaiting the hand of the picker. The entire field now becomes as white as snow, the cotton wool almost entirely concealing each plant from view. In cotton-picking time, the master or his overseer stands at one side of the wide plain, waiting for the pickers, as they come with their large baskets, made of white oak splits, full of cotton to be weighed. If they flag, or do not furnish the required quantity, varying from a hundred to two hundred and fifty pounds' weight, they are found fault with. It is no unusual thing to see a long row of labourers, men, women, and half-grown boys and girls, bringing the result of their morning's or of their evening's work to the weigher, chatting gaily and cheerfully as they go along; though sometimes awaiting with some anxiety the decision of the overseer. If he approves of their work they retire, pleased and gratified, bear

glad to learn that their master is likely to have a good crop. In summer, three hours at noon are given to rest horse and man; the boy puts up his animal, feeds it, and then goes to his own meal, taking besides a mid-day nap, until the bell summons him and the rest of the hands to labour.

At agricultural fairs, premiums are awarded to the planters who produce the finest staple and the largest yield of cotton per acre. Sometimes, in favourable seasons and in the more southern latitudes, cotton picking goes on all the winter until March; so that in one field the picking is going on, in another the preparation of the land for the coming crop. On sugar plantations, the press of work is in the cane-crushing season, when the planter, if the yield of cane is large, is compelled to hire extra hands for six or eight weeks, or to lose a part of his crop. The system of

grinding by steam and evaporating the boiled juice in vacuum pans has been much improved upon from year to year, promoting a finer granulation of the sugar, and greatly increasing its value; so that the first quality of Louisiana sugar is now superior to the best Havana. It is an exceedingly busy and yet a merry season, in the vicinity of the sugar house, when sugar-boiling is going on, night and day, for six or seven weeks, with three relays of hands working alternately. The "*bagasse*," or crushed cane from which the juice has been expressed, is used as fuel for the boiler. If the cane is too ripe, the sugar granulates in the stalk, and is lost in the process of grinding; on the other hand, if not ripe enough, or if not properly handled in the various processes, it refuses to granulate at all, and forms the marketable article known as Golden Syrup.

According to some writers, there is a



class of population in the South which a slave civilization always creates, and whose social position is little above that of the negro. In fertile regions, the poorest, if he have but health and strength and industrious habits, can soon acquire means enough to buy a tract of land; and by cultivating this, with the help of hired hands, can soon obtain slaves enough of his own to carry on a small plantation. The poor class above referred to is generally composed of an idle and thriftless set, who would be poor men in any land, and whose poverty is the fruit of their own want of energy and industry. Mechanics can always find profitable employment in the South, because the slaves rarely do other than plantation work. There is much for a planter to do, whether he have a large force of workmen or not. He must superintend all the operations of his farm, must select the new lands to be opened, must

determine how large a crop his field hands can cultivate carefully and well; for if he trust altogether to the experience and faithfulness of those whose business it is to manage his affairs under him, he will not be a successful planter nor a prosperous man.

VI.

THE SOUTHERNER AS A STATESMAN.

THOUGH the standard of education attained by the sons of planters at college is rarely quite as high as that of Northerners in their first-class institutions, still it is respectable. But there is a training in which the Southerner is a ready proficient. If he aspire to enter into public life, he is generally prepared by a legal education for the position he may hereafter fill as a statesman. Coming into constant contact with minds almost, if not quite, as well acquainted as himself with the ques-

tions likely to come up before the people, — he becomes accustomed from early man- — hood to deal with masses; he addresses crowds of critical hearers at home, and when he enters into the legislative halls, he is stimulated to further exertion, and prepares himself to take a high stand among his fellow-representatives from all parts of the country. He makes the laws of the land his study, statesmanship his business, economical questions his pastime; besides which, he has repeated opportunities of learning, both in a State legislature and in Congress, all that belongs to the business of a legislator. While the senator and representatives from a Northern State, with very few and noble exceptions, remain in office for one, or at best, two terms, to give way to a more favoured candidate, he remains a legislator for life, generally beginning his career in the Lower House, and closing it in the Upper; for he is sent to

Congress session after session,* until he becomes thoroughly acquainted with all that relates to the government of a country like his, and thus grows up into the full stature of an enlightened statesman. Moreover, the Southerner is not so likely to be swayed by party feeling in matters which ought properly to be open questions. In the North, where numberless interests are constantly coming into conflict, members of Congress are so hampered, that they find it difficult to keep up with the march of progress among their constituents; but in the South, such complications do not arise, and the Southern member has a freer stage for his statesmanship.

* Members of Congress may, like the English Member of Parliament, be re-elected. In America, the Lower House (that of Representatives) is elected by universal suffrage—a system which in the South is modified by allowing the slave interest to be represented. The Members of the Senate, or Upper House, are usually elected by the legislative bodies of the States which they represent.

Though warm and impulsive in his disposition and temper, and therefore liable to fierce outbreaks, he is generally calm and dignified in manner ; and being accustomed to command, he exercises a certain influence in Congress on the side of reason and order. An illustration of the respect of Southerners for constitutional rights may here be given. After that long, protracted struggle for the Speakership of the House, which resulted in the election of the Hon. N. P. Banks, no sooner was that gentleman elected than two Southern members stepped forward, and conducted him to the chair. Here was a man chosen, after a bitter and closely contested election, to the Speakership, by a simple majority of a faction of a party now called the "Black Republican party ;" and yet courtesy and respect for constitutional rights induced these gentlemen to act in harmony with their convictions, not with their feelings.

It was not until the members from the South saw how the majorities were going to deal with all the questions of vital importance to the whole country, that they withdrew in a body from the counsels of the nation. It may be said that if they had remained in their seats, the habit of invariably listening with respectful attention to Southern members when they rose, would have given them an influence which they have lost by seceding. The best answer that can be given to this statement, is their treatment of the few Southern members from the border States who remained in their seats, in the vague hope of effecting this very result. They were insulted in the grossest manner, ridiculed, scouted, scorned, and hissed at, for their pains. The Hon. J. J. Cruttenden, ^{show} ~~once~~ ^{be} ^{critic} Governor of Kentucky, as a member of the lower House, proposed his well-known resolutions, hoping to throw oil upon the

troubled waters, and to conciliate those of the Southern States which had not then seceded, and perhaps even pacify the whole South. These resolutions were treated with ridicule, and their mover with contempt as an old driveller in his dotage.

Another illustration is the Morrell tariff itself. This measure never would have passed, had there been even a fair proportion of Southern members to use their influence in favour of the minority, and to check the headlong policy of the Northern Protectionists.

The Conservatives of the North, who have the real and permanent prosperity of the country at heart, are appalled at the daring extravagancies in legislation and in action displayed by their own rulers. At the meeting on Union Square, New York, in April, 1861, when the war cry rose up to its highest and loudest note, the Conservatives stood by, looking on

and listening to the denunciations against the South and Southerners, with amazement and dread. Their time was not come. It is very pleasant for a true lover of the Americans to see how the Conservatives, the moneyed interest, the true Statesmen of the North desire to deal with all questions connected with the South. Their spirit is conciliatory, though their sympathy with the insurgents in this war is controlled by a sectional policy. Their knowledge of all the difficulties of the question, and their appreciation of the Southern character, lead them to desire a lasting peace with their neighbours and brethren. The South knows her own strength now. She has taken a firm and decided stand, and is respected by all the leading minds of the North, for her wisdom in council, and for her unwavering firmness in the field.

Southern men have also distinguished

themselves as leaders of armies. The profession of arms has always been more popular in the South than in the North ; and all young Southerners, when once trained up at the best military schools, remain in the service. Many of them have gone through the Mexican and Crimean wars. These are the men who have won themselves a name in this war, and who have raised and disciplined this splendid army of Confederates, which has recorded its history in the various battle-fields on Southern soil.

VII.

PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

ON the 22nd of September, 1862, the President of the United States, goaded on by the extreme section of the Black Republican party, issued his proclamation for the emancipation, by the 1st of January, 1863, of all slaves belonging to rebels who should still hold out against Federal authority. If we bear in mind that Mr Lincoln was elected by that very party, need we wonder that he was more or less influenced by their representations? Before issuing the proclamation, however, he was in the greatest perplexity as to what

was the true line of duty for him to pursue under the circumstances. He never doubted his right of carrying it out as a war measure, with a view to bringing the rebels to terms; but he greatly doubted the expediency of the step. Even many leading men in the anti-slavery party in Congress, and some of the most influential ministers of religion, could not decide in favour of this policy. He says, "the rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness, I fear, than our own troops, and expecting God to favour their side; for one of our own soldiers, who had been taken prisoner, told Senator Wilson, a few days since, that he met with nothing so discouraging to our cause as the evident sincerity of those he was among in their prayers." He also asked those men who urged him on, what possible good result could follow the publication of such a state paper? Though slavery

was the root of the rebellion, though it might weaken the enemy to draw away their labourers, what could be done with the slaves in the North? It would be folly to arm them; for the arms, even if they had enough to supply them, would in a few weeks be in the hands of the rebels: this step might also alienate from their cause all the border States, depriving the United States' army of fifty thousand brave soldiers. What possible effect could it have upon the rebel States, beyond emancipating the slaves, as the Northern army made advances on Southern territory? Even in New Orleans, where Butler remains undisturbed, the negroes came to him only for rations, but did not seem to desire to be free. "What good, again," he says, "would a proclamation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document which, as the whole world will see, must necessarily be inoper-

ative, like the Pope's Bull against the comet." Still, at last he yielded against his convictions to the urgent desire of Horace Greeley and his supporters. These party leaders informed him that they had more than nine hundred thousand men who had not volunteered, and who would not volunteer until he declared freedom to the negro. It was to carry the elections, and not to conquer the rebels, that they were so clamorous about emancipation, never intending all the time to fulfil their promise of help; and yet how signally they failed in their design. Volunteering, which was in the full tide of successful operation when the proclamation appeared, was by it suddenly checked. But what was this compared to the immense body of men, nearly a million, who would rush forward to fill the ranks of the army of the North? The elections in many of the States throughout the North show that

the majority of the people were opposed to this plan of emancipation, and the fact demonstrates that even those who clamoured most for it are not willing to fight for it. The views of the extreme or fanatical portion of the abolition party in reference to the course pursued by the President, are calculated to do an irreparable injury to their cause. They are not satisfied with it, because the language of his proclamation is not stringent enough; and because it rests on the questionable basis of expediency. They declare that the rights of the coloured race are not considered in it, and that the government of God is practically set aside by the men who set up expediency against his eternal will. The proclamation of the Government tells us in words that cannot be misunderstood, "that they do not intend to do justice, if it can possibly be avoided; and that if they can by any means get out

of this rebellion, without freeing a single slave, they will do it. It was done simply as a matter of military expediency. We will press the Government, and compel it to destroy the rebellion, root and branch. We do not mean to let this Union be destroyed, or to let the rebel States go out of the Union; for since the great fact was settled that this Union was to be for freedom, by the help of God we will compel every one of the Southern States to come back to it on the principles of freedom." Some of the immediate Emancipationists hold that although this paper is not all that the exigency of the times and the consequent duty of the Government require, still that it is an important step in the right direction, and an act of immense historic consequence. For it calls for the prompt and efficient enforcement by the army and navy of the Confiscation Act, as passed by Congress, whereby the

slaves of all the rebels, who may be captured, or who may seek protection under the national flag, are to be liberated conditionally ; and as the great mass of slaveholders are in open rebellion, it emancipates more than three-fourths of the entire slave population, as fast as they shall become accessible. It also forbids any person connected with the military or naval service to arrest, or send back, any fugitive slave whatever. These orders, though marked by some objectionable features, if faithfully executed by the parties to whom they are entrusted, will, they hope, speedily give a staggering blow to the rebellion. The same parties are in favour of giving full scope to the proclamation, leaving it to exert its influence, while the Generals of the army, for a time, stand on the defensive. In the mean while, the new levies can be drilled and exercised during the autumn months, while the new iron-plated

vessels are being completed and armed, and the fleets prepared for ascending every Southern river, so soon as the winter rains shall have filled its banks; and while the tidings speed from Virginia to Texas, and dark faces gleam at furtive midnight meetings with the knowledge that the President has decreed that the first of January next shall shatter for ever the chains of four millions of human beings. If on that day everything is ready, a few weeks at most must seal the fate of the slave-holders' rebellion. This terrible and diabolical scheme, as set forth by these real enemies of the coloured man, will doubtless be defeated; for the Southern Generals will be fully prepared to meet it.

General Beauregard, now in command of the military force for the defence of the city of Charleston, has already passed an order for every non-combatant, and every negro, whether bond or free, to withdraw

into the interior. Thus the President of the United States, having emancipated the slaves in the Southern States by one stroke of his pen, and having proclaimed martial law in the free States by another, must be somewhat in want of subjects whereupon to exercise his newly-found powers. We would suggest that a new field for his restless benevolence and comprehensive philanthropy be opened in several of the free States of the West, where the prejudice against the African race is strong, is growing stronger, and is manifesting itself in a restrictive and exclusive legislation, well deserving the attention of consistent anti-slavery zeal. His own State of Illinois, for instance, forbids the negro from settling upon her soil, and also from testifying in suits between whites. Let the President issue a proclamation declaring that if this State does not repeal these harsh and obnoxious statutes, before

the first of January, 1863, he will issue a proclamation declaring them null and void. It is true that the President has no constitutional power to issue such a proclamation, but then neither has he any constitutional power to free the slaves of Georgia and Florida. Practically the effect would be the same in both cases. Nay, under the war-power which makes it lawful for him to do anything he pleases to break down the rebellion, the President has already dissolved the legal relation existing between master and servant after the first of January, 1863. Now, would it not be a death-blow to the rebellion, if he would also proclaim that all other State laws shall be repealed, and shall be of no force whatever, on and after that date? There are other relations, such as those of husband and wife, parent and child, debtor and creditor; there are laws to punish stealing and murder, and a thousand things

more, which may all, with an equal show of right, be annulled by the simple dictum of the President. One more suggestion. He, as chief magistrate, is much hampered by State rights. The governors of the loyal States are often crotchety, and sometimes impracticable. Would it not tend to the great increase of efficiency in the Government, and the more speedy suppression of the rebellion, if, by another such a proclamation, he would abolish State lines, and remove all the governors of the different States, loyal and rebel? Under the war-power which he has thought fit to claim, he can do what he thinks necessary to put down the rebellion, and this last measure would be its final death-blow; only dragging down, in its fearful ruin, that Union of Independent States, which was once, and might still be, the strength of the confederations, Northern as well as Southern. Though we have so

far treated the proclamation as one that really must be carried out by the Northern army in direct violation of all the constitutional rights of each State; though we have thrown ridicule upon the assumption of the President that he has full right, as commander-in-chief of the army, to do anything which may tend to crush the rebellion; yet these are questions of vital importance to the country, which demand our serious attention and patient inquiry, as they do not only relate to the interests of what some are disposed to call "a down-trodden race," but affect most closely the prosperity and welfare—nay, we had almost said the existence—of the States, North and South. The Abolitionists are determined to carry out their plan, even at the point of the sword. They are sanguine of success: they look upon the South as an exhausted people, and as an easy conquest to be achieved by iron-clad gun-

boats, and by Dahlgren and Parrott guns. If the people of the South are scattered, they are still a determined race; and knowing well what they have to expect from the party in power, and driven as they are to desperation, because they have been defeated at the polls by the peace party, and because their time is short, they are determined never to yield. Let us consider what to yield, at this moment, would involve? We do not doubt that the Southerners will maintain their ground. They are prepared to suffer and to fight till the last, to die sword in hand, rather than to submit to the tender mercies of that fanatical party who are their sworn enemies, and have always been so, since the very inauguration of the Government in 1789.

Before entering upon the discussion of the question based upon the supposition that the Northern army succeed in setting free the whole labouring population of the

South, we will give statistical tables drawn from the published returns of the census of 1860, which will aid us not only to see clearly the force of the argument, which is the subject of this chapter, but will enable us to arrive at the probable rates of increase of the two races for twenty years to come, if the war had not come in as a disturbing element to check the growth of the country. The increase of the population from 1850 to 1860 was 8,225,464. The fifteen slave-holding States contained a population of 12,240,000, of which 8,039,000 were whites, 251,000 free coloured, and 3,950,000 slaves. The nineteen non-slave-holding States and seven territories contained a population of 19,201,546, of whom 18,936,479 were white, 237,318 free coloured, and 27,749 were Indians. The rates of increase in population during the last ten years are 37.97 per cent. of white, 23.39 per cent. of

slaves, all born in the land, and 12.33 of free coloured, also native born. If the average ratio be continued until the year 1900, which is only 38 years longer, the population of the United States would exceed 100 millions, of which nine millions would be coloured. The population in 1860 was two millions in excess of the total in the United Kingdom of England and Ireland; but there were curious points of difference. In Great Britain the females out-numbered the males by 877,000, while in the United States the excess of males was about 730,000. Should the rebellion, says a Northern writer, continue until January 1st, 1863, the number of slaves which will be emancipated on that day will be as follows: Alabama 435,132, Arkansas 111,104, Florida 61,753, Georgia 462,232, Louisiana 333,010, Mississippi 436,696, North Carolina 331,081, South Carolina 402,541, Tennessee 275,784, Texas

180,682, Eastern Virginia 375,000. The slave States left out are Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware, whose numbers would have made up the aggregate of 3,950,000. Total 3,405,015. These States are not included, because they are esteemed loyal, and the law will not apply to them or to Western Virginia.

These statistical tables tell their own story with an irresistible power. In the North and West, we find a free coloured population of less than a quarter of a million, which has been constantly receiving accessions from the slave States—a free population, whose rate of increase for the last ten years have been only 12 per cent. Facts go to prove that, if it had not been for the continued filling up of these diminished ranks from the swarming hive of the South, they would by this time have become virtually extinct. Everything is against them, as we have before shown,—

the climate, their natural indolence and love of ease, the prejudice of colour, and rivalry with white labour, &c. &c. Besides this, admitting that the free persons of colour in the Northern States are a poor, helpless, dependent set, left to themselves, uncared for and forgotten by the white man, what would be the fate of the race if they had four millions on their hands? The determined policy of the Government, aided by its army and navy, is to burst asunder at once the bonds that have united master and servant for generations. If, as General Butler did in New Orleans, they forbid these slaves to work for their masters, even if disposed to do so ; if they teach them that they have been a down-trodden, oppressed, and much-wronged race ; can they reasonably expect these men, women, and children, educated and trained under a different system, in the first flush of sudden success, and proud

of their freedom as an untried state, to be as tractable and manageable as they have hitherto been ? It is not in human nature to be so. If we do not look for the horrors and excesses which marked the emancipation of the negro in St Domingo ; if we do not expect them to rise up and murder in cold blood their former masters, mistresses, and families ; it is because we believe them to have been not only kindly treated by them, but well taught. The Christian religion has been planting in the souls of many of these poor descendants of benighted African savages the seeds of the living word of God, which have sprung up, and brought forth fruit in many a poor heart, and filled it with hopes which the world can neither give nor take away. But even then, in the first excitement of victory, instigated by a brutal soldiery as lawless and reckless as savage warfare can make them, who can be certain that these

docile and affectionate creatures may not be stirred up to madness, and, when once they have tasted blood, may not rouse up the savage in them, and commit even the most terrible atrocities, of which the Sepoy rebellion in India may be but a faint picture? John Brown came into a part of the country, where he fully expected to induce these men to rise against their masters; he found them not only unwilling to do so, but determined to resist his invasion of their rights as bondmen, to remain as they were. Their inquiry was, "What he come here for?" But who can answer for the negro, when his savage nature is fully waked up? Again, even if the slaves depart peaceably, they leave the country a desolation and a ruin. Take in one day four millions of docile and trained labourers from a country, and what becomes of it? It turns back again into a wilderness. And in the mean time, what is to be the fate

of the 8,000,000 of white population? Do they not enlist our sympathies? Is not a word to be said for them? Are their lives, their properties, their interests to be sacrificed at the will of enthusiasts, who so entirely sympathize with the inferior, that they seek to destroy the superior race?

Perhaps it may be said, their former slaves may labour for them for stated wages? Were they Russian serfs, we would answer in the affirmative; for these are of a different race. But the African needs further training before such a step in advance can be taken by him.

In the mean time, Southern civilization, its created wealth, its products, its improvements, are swept away before the storm and irretrievably wrecked; all the fabric so securely raised on the faith of the whole nation falls to pieces when the foundations are removed. If the African race will not work for wages with their

former masters, neither are they likely to work for themselves upon the soil wrested from the white man at the point of the bayonet. But the Abolitionist has a ready remedy for this evil. Let the whole South return to its primeval forests, let the busy hum of work in the great cities cease, let the merry voices of children be hushed in the streets, and let the bells which have summoned thousands to prayer toll the last knell of a departed people; what matters it to the fanatical spirit of those men whose one idea is that they have work for these millions of labourers, in the North? ‘Be it so,’ they will say; “such is the scarcity of farm-labourers and workers in factories throughout the North, in consequence of the immense and steady drain of the population to supply the armies of the United States, that, by a far-seeing policy, the Secretary of State does all in his power to encourage immigration from all parts

of Europe, and especially from England. The operatives in Lancashire, the farm-labourers in other countries, all have a premium offered them by the high price of labour in the North. All branches of industry in England and on the continent are paralyzed by the civil war here ; so that thousands of strong and healthy persons who are able and willing to work are out of employment, and thrown upon the charity of the rich for their daily food. The manufacturing towns in England are discharging their hands daily, and the prospects for the future are dark and gloomy. On the other hand, all branches of business in the United States are in a very prosperous state. Our manufacturers, in many instances, are working their mills night and day ; the railway cars are crowded with the products of the West, seeking a market ; and our commerce was never more profitable and thriving. With

such a state of affairs, one million of the bone and sinew of the land have been called from their usual avocations to fight; and what is the result? Men are scarce, wages high, and the prospects of the poor man bright; especially so with the foreigner, who cannot be drafted into the army. Wages in the West have risen so high as $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars a day for a common farm-labourer. Taking that as a standard, an industrious workman could earn enough in one season to purchase a good farm, and live independently ever afterwards. In the manufacturing districts of the Eastern States, labour was never so scarce; the obvious results being steady employment and very high wages. It is evident then, by looking at the two pictures, that now is the opportunity, and this the country for the working classes of Europe." "Immigrants," according to another statement, "are pouring, like a swelling tide,

upon the land; the war with its high prices seems to be inviting them thither. Miners, mechanics, agriculturists, and persons willing to become soldiers, are seeking their shores." Is it not easy to see that this state of things cannot last? While immigration was going on during peace, it was a healthy, vigorous state of prosperity that invited the mixed populations of Europe to develop the inexhaustible resources of a boundless expanse of territory. But now immigration is stimulated to supply an unnatural drain of the native population. Farms must be cultivated to feed their millions of unproductive labourers; factories must be in full operation to clothe them, to supply arms and munitions of war, to build ships of war, and iron-clads; many foreigners must be employed as sailors, if not in the navy, at least in the merchant service, to bring from foreign lands the manufactures which,

in times of peace, either would not be necessary, or would be kept out by prohibitory duties.

As soon as the war ceases, all this fictitious prosperity goes with it. The remnant of the million of men who have gone to the war may return so broken down and helpless as to unfit them for the duties of their station, and thus work may for a time be found for the thousands invited to their shores. But, we ask, where can employment be found for the 4,000,000 of the now impoverished and ruined South? Let the originators of this scheme of emancipation answer the question. "If the slaves be made free, they must come to the North; the antipathy of our people of the free States to the negro race, and their objection to having them come among them, must give way to necessity. These are times of great changes, and we may perhaps have a great change of feeling

here in the North towards the coloured fugitives. The want of labourers in the North will effect this change before long. Most of those who have gone to the war were engaged in industrial pursuits, more than half of them from the farm, none of whom could be spared without damage to the interests of agriculture. In the State of New York alone, the drain of able-bodied young men has already seriously embarrassed the vital interests of the State. In the Western States, the loss in agriculture will be still more serious. If able-bodied fugitives by tens of thousands present themselves, offering to work, they will be welcomed by the farmers as friends." It may be asked what shall be done with such a sudden and immense influx of farm-labourers after the close of the war? They answer, "We do not fear the increase of workmen. It is just what we need for the highest

prosperity of agriculture. Our greatest hindrance to the full development of the natural capacity of our land is lack of men. In a few years, we might employ twice as many hands with as good wages as we now pay, and have a greater profit from the land."

There is one great, one insuperable difficulty in the way of these Northern political economists. While the few blacks they have now may be as good farm hands as the average of those they hire, and receive as high wages—nay, even if they are preferred, and get the best pay, it is because the most valuable among the slaves, and the enterprising ones of those who run away, seek farm work in preference to any other.* But four millions of labourers suddenly thrown in the labour market, to enter into competition at

* The idle and vicious seek other and more precarious means of subsistence in cities.

once and for ever with the white man ! In this conflict of race against race, is it at all doubtful which will gain the day ? Either the immediate immigration from Europe, which is the bone and sinew of the country, the secret of its prosperity, the source of its life and energy, would suddenly cease, to give way to an inferior race which must always be hewers of wood and drawers of water ; the whole face of things would be changed ; the class of small farmers who own the land which they till, would gradually give way to a class of large farmers, who would employ numbers of black labourers to raise their immense crops : or, what is more likely, the white labourers, as they have always hitherto done, would drive away these free blacks from the country (either by their superior skill, or by brute force), compelling them to take refuge in the wilds of the South, to perish for lack of a

guiding hand of fostering care. This would be the closing scene of the history of the coloured race in America, whom the South now has under its special charge. So that the plan of emancipation sketched by the Abolitionists, and pledged to be carried out by the army and navy, if successful, would not only destroy the race for whose benefit it is designed, but would destroy the Southern planter, and reduce him and his to beggary. Need we point out the ruin to the manufacturing interests of the North, for the want of the great staple of the South? Besides which, the Southern market would be gone for ever. The consumers of Northern manufactures are principally the negroes on Southern plantations, the families themselves consuming but a small proportion of these cotton and coarse woollen cloths. The immense imports which have hitherto been made to supply the wealthy Southern

proprietors would cease to yield a revenue to the Northern Government, and would put back their rapidly-growing prosperity more than a century. If peace be restored and things remain as they were before the war, then the North would reap its fair share of the prosperity of the South.

VIII.

THE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE NEGROES.

THE course pursued by the Northern philanthropist in reference to the negro population of the South having been fully discussed in our last chapter, we would now enter upon the task of setting forth what has been doing among planters, for the spiritual benefit of the negroes. Christian philanthropists look upon these servants as a sacred trust; they feel themselves bound to guide them to the knowledge of the Gospel truth. Four millions of a race which in time will be ready for freedom, call for careful religious instruc-

tion on the part of their masters; and the entire South is at last waking up to its weighty responsibility in this respect. Churches and meeting-houses are springing up in all parts of the country for their especial benefit, and white ministers are appointed to take charge of them; as it has been found that coloured preachers, however earnest and devoted to their work, are not equal to the task. In undertaking to set before his countrymen the great field of missionary work now open to the faithful and devoted minister in this Southern land, the writer speaks from experience; having had, as a clergyman ministering to their spiritual wants, twenty-one years of intimate acquaintance with the negro race. In his own peculiar field of labour among them, often self-imposed, he has found them to be like grown-up children, most impressible and teachable, and ever ready to seize upon an illustra-

tion which opens out to them the treasures of saving truth. This to the Christian pastor is a lovely trait of character, which greatly simplifies the work before him, while it gives him an opportunity to rouse these ready hearers to seek their Redeemer. Religious truth received into the heart touches the susceptible feelings of the negroes by its simplicity and tenderness; and it also gives them something to live for beyond the life that now is. It is not enough to arouse their sympathies, and to make them noisy professors, as forgetful as they are easily aroused. When the faith of Christ crucified becomes within them a living principle, it raises them at once above their former level in the social scale; it fits them for usefulness in this life, while it prepares them for their glorious inheritance, as the redeemed of the Lord. For personal reasons, we will chiefly limit our remarks to the manner in

which the Episcopal Church, the daughter of the Church of England, proceeds to perform her arduous task. In giving but a passing notice to the labours of other Christian bodies in this same field, we do not wish to disparage their efforts, nor to undervalue their Christian zeal; but we rather confine ourselves to our own experience, endeavouring to "speak that we do know, and to testify that we have seen." The negro is fond of excitement. He loves to have his feelings strung up to the highest possible pitch, and to give free expression to them "in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." Whether this feeling has been unduly fostered by the system of camp and revival meetings, is hard to say. We know that for a time no effort was made to check it; hence there was great danger of suffering these poor, uneducated, susceptible beings to be satisfied with "feeling happy," without teaching

them their duty to Him, who is their Redeemer and only Saviour. They are very docile pupils, receiving impressions readily, like children; but these impressions are very frequently found to pass away, with the occasion that gave rise to them. Finding them always so ready to attend the house of God, the Church clergyman here has an open field. In the country, and where churches are erected on the different plantations, the masters, mistresses, and their families attend with their household servants, and as many more as choose to come, in the morning, and again in the evening with all their hands. The evening service is usually preferred, because it is shorter, and the domestics soon learn to take a share in it, both in the responsive parts and in the chants. I have seen instances where they were so well taught in the Sunday School, as to be able to follow the whole service, including the Psalter,

the masters and mistresses taking the lead in all. The parts usually learned first are the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. They soon learn to know the service well; and the loud Amen, at the close of each Collect, is reverently uttered by all. With the help of good music they sing very sweetly; and when such congregational singing is heartily joined in, the effect is very impressive upon all the minds that partake in it. The churches now built for them are almost always church-like in architecture, and the negroes feel proud to know that it is a house of prayer built expressly for their use. I have known them to contribute from their savings to the building fund, also to the funds of the Church Missionary Society (directing their contributions to be applied especially to African Missions) Trained as they are, Sunday after Sunday both in the church and in the Sunda

School, they soon fall into the ways of the Church, and like our services better than those of the surrounding denominations. They take a good share in them, and this prevents weariness and inattention. Moreover, the Psalms and Hymns which they have learned, are generally used in their special services, in preference to others, so as to keep up their interest in the service. The mistress of the family, or some other female member of it, is usually the organist. During the discourse they are very attentive, approving by alternate nods and smiles, and sometimes by silent tears, the doctrines set before them. With such teaching as the pure and simple gospel of Jesus Christ presents, they are satisfied; and many of them love their pastor for the sake of the living truth which he presses upon their attention. There is one feature of the system which is very beautiful to witness. The ladies

of the family visit, every Sunday evening, in the "quarter," the aged and infirm who may not be able to attend church; they read and explain to them several chapters in the Bible, and teach the little ones who are gathered around the old people. The kindly greetings exchanged between them, the pure word of life reverently read, and eagerly listened to as a message of peace and pardon to the thirsting soul, the earnest unobtrusive missionary work which is thus going on among these once benighted Africans, is cheering to behold—a work and labour of love, carried on by hearts touched with the love of souls, and animated by a deep sense of duty to God and to their lowly dependents. The plain results of all this silent and unobtrusive work is that the men become more efficient and faithful servants, more devoted to their master's interests. They consult not their own wishes and desires

only; they study how, for the sake of the great Redeemer, they may faithfully serve their earthly masters. A well-taught and Christian body of servants are far more valuable as workmen than those who are left to the chance instruction of such ministers as may come to them. The writer has never, in his whole ministry, been interfered with by the planters; on the contrary, he has always found them ready to co-operate with him in his work, and even to furnish means to carry it on. The course pursued by city pastors is modified by circumstances. As they have none but household servants to minister to, they devote a part of the Sunday to a special service for their benefit. This is the work which the Church is pressing upon the attention of its members. They have in this matter a weight of responsibility, which of necessity devolves upon them; and since they have voluntarily

assumed it, they must discharge it faithfully as in the sight of God. Every parish minister urges upon his people their duty to do their part as Christian masters, co-operating with him heartily in this matter. Alone he can do but little. If the negroes are suffered to spend their Sundays in idleness, or worse still, in traffic, not only are they the losers, but a great deal of their work is imperfectly done, or left undone. The planter owes religious instruction to the immortal beings entrusted to him; and if he send not missionaries to Africa to wean the poor savage from his Fetiche, he has a missionary field at his own door and in his own family. These poor benighted Africans silently and eloquently appeal to him to give them the gospel; and if he is unmindful of his trust, his stewardship will be taken away from him.

If the planters do not take this matter

fully in their hands, the State—if it knows its own interest—must do it, and tax the inhabitants for the purpose, as a means of elevating an important class in the social scale, and giving them the rights of immortal beings. If, however, the State undertakes to furnish the means by direct taxation, it virtually takes the work out of the hands of the Church, and entrusts it to the various Christian bodies. It cannot do otherwise, because all Christian denominations are alike in the eyes of the law; and no one body could be selected to carry on this work in preference to another.

There is no class of men better fitted for the work of evangelizing the negroes than ministers of the Episcopal Church, who are well acquainted with the character and the habits of thought and feeling of the race. The pastor must come to his work with this one idea up-

permost,—that he is one of God's ministers "sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation;" he finds them in bondage, and as bond-servants must he deal with them. If he presume to do otherwise, his usefulness is at an end. His power to guide, advise, and control is gone, and he had better return whence he came. Every minister of the Church whom I have known as a labourer among slaves, has always wisely confined himself to his one great and all-absorbing duty, and has found no inclination to transgress the bounds marked out for himself at the outset of his career. As years pass on, and his work grows under his hand, and responsibility increases with it, his views of the nature of his duties enlarge; he sees and feels the influence it gives him over the minds and hearts of his flock, and

having once put his hand to the plough, he is enabled to grasp it firmly, never once looking back with regret to the past. He looks at these immortal beings receiving the word of life at his mouth, and he loses sight of their social position; to him their souls are precious, they are in the sight of God of great price. As redeemed ones, they stand on the same level as himself, in the house of God; their masters and themselves are alike poor, needy, helpless sinners, depending upon the Saviour for salvation, and striving to walk after the same rule, minding the same things. And when they bow together to commemorate the sacrifice of the death of Christ and to feed on him by faith, the poor bondman rises to a dignity as the Lord's freedman, a child of God, and, as such, a brother beloved.

It is literally true that a good Christian negro is a more faithful servant, a more devoted and more intelligent labourer, working more to his master's advantage, more trust-worthy and reliable, than one without any religious training whatever. Hence the superiority of plantations in the South over those of other lands. Contrast, if you will, the plantation negro of the South with the degraded, brutalized, and thoughtless negro of Romanist Cuba, or Brazil; he rises in the scale of civilization far above these, simply because his mental, moral, and religious training keep pace with his physical development. Even if he is not a professing Christian, the negro of Protestant America knows enough of religious truth to be governed by some of its principles in his outward life. To show the effect produced on

negro hearers by an illustration, which appeals to their feelings and personal experience, I will relate an instance which occurred in the course of my ministrations among them. In setting forth the character and office of the kinsman-redeemer in the Old Testament, as a type of our Saviour, who became one with us, and took upon him our nature, so that as our nearest of kin he might have the right as well as the power to save us from the dominion of sin and the service of Satan; I asked these eager listeners, "Our Redeemer and only Saviour has come forth to redeem us from the bondage of sin, and the dominion of the wicked one. He has paid the price of our redemption. To whom then do we henceforth belong? Surely to him who hath redeemed us and made us his. We are not our own, we are

bought with a price, the precious blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and he is our nearest of kin, our elder brother. You owe him yourselves, your souls and bodies, as a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto him. Are you willing to enter into his service? to give up yourselves to so kind, so good, so tender and loving a master? to live to him, and to die to the world?" It is impossible, in a brief description like this, to give even a faint picture of the effect produced upon these earnest and eager listeners. The effect was electrical. The change of service from a hard and cruel master to one who is all tenderness and love, who gave his life a ransom for them; the identifying of their position as redeemed servants with that of their masters, according to the flesh, touched them. Every one was deeply

moved; and yet there was a stillness which was perfectly thrilling. Not a sound was heard. Every eye was fastened upon the speaker, showing unmistakeable signs of the emotion which was working in these susceptible minds.

IX.

BLACK COLONIZATION—SUNDRY LAWS FOR THE
PROTECTION OF SLAVES.

WE propose, in the present chapter, briefly to discuss a few of the more important questions which relate to the temporal welfare and happiness of the poor dependent African, whether as a slave or as a free man. We have already, at some length, attempted to show that the Southerner, even for the sake of his personal interests, is greatly opposed to the African slave-trade, and would never desire to see the traffic legalized. He is even in favour of a total suppression of this abominable system, which so effectually hinders all

progress of civilization on the Guinea coast. For so long as the native princes (such as the King of Dahomey) find it to their interest to make expeditions into the interior, for the capture of prisoners to supply the slave ships, so long will anything like legitimate trade on that coast be paralyzed. There are, it is true, some statesmen in the South who, from want of a due deliberation on the question in all its bearings, have argued that as slavery was the great means of civilizing and christianizing the native African, it would be well to bring more labourers under such beneficial influences. The absurdity and wickedness of this thought carries its own condemnation with it. To tear away the poor savage from his home, and to carry him to the house of bondage, in order to make him an enlightened man, is not the scheme of a true philanthropist. It is unworthy of a Christian statesman,

and as such meets with no favour. It is true that the same African is, in his native home, worse than a bondman; that he is really a savage, whose life, liberty, and prosperity, whose wife and children, are all at the mercy of rulers quite as savage as himself; but if he is to be brought under the influence of Christian teaching, it must be by means more in accordance with the principles of the Gospel of Peace. It is not then a matter of surprise that the Southerner should be opposed to reviving the slave trade; but that he should be an active and earnest supporter of the Colonization Society, in connection with many of the best and most enlightened men of the North, is not always so clearly understood. Christian men, both North and South, who are not Abolitionist, have seen the abject condition of the free negro in the North, and realized by their own observation the fact that it is impossible for him

to rise to the level of his manhood, in the midst of a population which, by its overwhelming numbers and its prejudices as to colour, would always crush his best endeavours to do right, and instead of giving him a kind word and a helping hand, would thrust him back as an intruder in the field of labour which they have reserved for themselves; and perceiving this evil and desiring effectually to remedy it, they have organized the Colonization Society, whose object is to induce this class of people to settle on the African coast, and found a colony at Liberia, similar in character to the English colony at Sierra Leone. The Southerner entered heartily into the work, and furnished his quota of means, in order to find a suitable field for the energy and enterprise of a race of freemen. When any master felt disposed to emancipate such of his slaves as were by previous

training prepared for freedom, who were young and willing to labour for themselves, and to make themselves a position in life, he would set them free, on condition that they would emigrate to the colony of Liberia. The object of the Society was to furnish such an emigrant with his outfit, to give him a free passage, and to support him and his for some months, until he found suitable employment; he was not left destitute, lest he should despair of success and sink into hopeless poverty. The humanity of this enterprise and the success of it both speak in its favour. For to set a slave free, and then leave him to enter at once into competition with slave labour at home, or with educated white labour in the free States, would be a great injustice.

Few persons in England can really picture to themselves the enmity of the labouring populations of the North, Irish

and German, against the poor negro, nor the prejudice against his colour which exists among all classes. The unhappy being is compelled to sink to the lowest level, unless indeed he is superior to the generality of his race. The few who are talented, industrious, and provident, are of course no criterion by which to judge of the whole people.

The free negro usually spends his summer in alternate labour and feasting; his winter, when it is almost impossible for an African to stand the cold, in the alms-houses. Even in the South, where he is less exposed to inclement weather, he envies the slave who has a kind master and a good home; and despairing of success, he quickly sinks down to the lowest level in the social scale. Freedom, under such circumstances, is only degradation. The planter therefore who wishes to reward a faithful servant with his freedom,

makes it a condition that he emigrate to Africa. This also avoids the increase of a class of poor men who demoralize the slave, and who, though not by far so happily situated as he is, make him discontented with his lot and unhappy.

In some non-slave-holding States, laws have been passed to prevent any free negro from residing within the limits of their territory ; and of late, even some of the States most decidedly Abolitionist, fearing lest a sudden influx of negro population among them should be the result of the war policy of the Government, have passed stringent laws to the same effect. What place of refuge then has the negro ? The climate of the Canadas is too severe, and there his race gradually dwindles away. Liberia at last becomes the only harbour of refuge for him.


We must not be too ready to blame the Western man for refusing to give a

home and a refuge to the idle, improvident, and consequently too often thievish negro, when, by a stringent law, rigidly enforced, he can keep this evil of a demoralized population from his borders. No one, even now, knows what to do with the fugitive slaves, who seek, in detached parties, a home in the free States ; what could then be done with those hundreds of thousands, who, if the policy of the Black Republican party prevail, would flock to their shores ? What remedy could be applied to the evil ? Let those who cherish the fond dream that these poor refugees, accustomed to be guided by and to depend upon a master mind, could at once make as useful and as able labourers as white men, and easily enter at once into competition with them, answer the question. The fact that in the South there are laws enacted for the protection of the slave population against the abuse

of power by the master, implies that there are among the planters in the cotton and sugar-growing States, men whom humanity and self-interest will not always restrain from encroaching upon the rights of the negro to be treated as a man. Theirs is not, however, an irresponsible power, one which can admit of no restriction as to its limits; the laws which so restrict them, and which make them responsible to the civil authority for the use which they make of their power, being conceived in a Christian spirit, and carried to the fullest extent practicable. Now that an enemy is pressing upon the border States, and sometimes penetrating even into the interior, the liberty of the slave is necessarily somewhat restricted. But in all his travels through the Southern States, the writer has never yet fallen in with such a master as Mrs H. B. Stowe's "Legree." Such a man may perhaps be

met with in Cuba, where the annual loss of slaves, consequent upon over-work and hard fare, can be readily repaired by fresh arrivals from Africa, or by constant accessions from other quarters. A man so completely lost to all sentiments of humanity, who could be tender to no living thing, whether man or beast, who would sacrifice interest to gratify passion,—such a man is rarely seen. And if that lady designed to teach that, in the natural course of things, such monsters may have it in their power to wreak their vengeance upon an unoffending and helpless race, regardless of any law, human or divine, she was grievously mistaken. Undoubtedly there are cruel masters, whose exercise of arbitrary power must be restricted by law, and it is to meet such cases that laws are passed. In some States, for instance, no pecuniary liabilities, no involving of an estate in debt, are allowed to

justify the breaking up of families, the separation of husband and wife, mother and child. Such a law would have passed, and have been in full operation in all the States, if it had not been for outside pressure, especially in the border States. Again, when there is an execution, and property is seized for debt by the sheriff, the homestead, with a certain portion of land around it, and a certain number of servants, is reserved for the use and support of the family; the number of acres, and of the domestics left to till them, being proportioned to the original extent of the estate and to the strength of the planting force. Here follows the tenor of one of the most remarkable laws, existing as yet, I believe, only in Mississippi, but which would soon be enacted by other State legislatures, if once their independence were secured. If a slaveholder be a



harsh and cruel master, he is looked upon as unfit to have the charge of a plantation and its working hands ; if he has a family, the estate is put under the charge of a guardian or guardians, who act on the children's behalf. If he is childless, and has no other direct heirs, the estate with all the servants is sold for the benefit of the owner ; but he is by law forbidden ever thereafter to hold slaves. I knew one such a man, who looked upon his bond-servants as mere goods and chattels, which he might not only dispose of at will, but put to death if they exasperated him. It was rumoured through the country that, in a fit of passion, he had put two servants to death ; at all events, he was sentenced to imprisonment in the State penitentiary for fifteen years. For another and lighter offence, his farm was taken away from him, and afterwards managed by his son-

in-law. On his release, he attempted to regain possession of it, but was foiled, and at last died a violent death.

The law of homicide is in substance this: If an overseer, with unheard-of cruelty and tyranny, so ill-treat a slave, as to excite the latter, acting on the defensive, to kill him, it is looked upon as a case of justifiable homicide; and if a white man, be he master or not, put a slave to death, his life is the forfeit. I have seen men in the State penitentiary, who were put in there for manslaughter, and I have also read accounts of white men being hanged for murder; the crimes in each instance having been committed against a slave. If a man steal a slave from his master, and it is proved that he is illegally in possession of him, he is sentenced to confinement in the State prison for five or ten years. The law draws no distinction between

One who steals a negro to sell him again, and one who induces him to run away with him into a free State; for **i**n either case he is guilty of depriving **t**he master of a good servant, the servant of a good home.

These are but a few of the laws passed on behalf of the slave; more would have been passed ere this, if the fanaticism of the ultra-Abolitionist had not tended to rivet the chains of the slave closer than ever. One illustration will suffice. Many negroes are taught to read, and they often study the word of God, and read the papers. No law would ever have been passed in any State forbidding their being taught, if it had not been for fear of their reading the Abolition pamphlets brought to the South, and industriously scattered over the land. I have already briefly alluded to the views of planters in re-

ference to their tenure of slaves. The sentiment has for years been gaining ground upon the mind and heart of the Southerner, and influencing his conduct towards his dependents,—not merely that the negro is a man and an immortal being, but that he is not even a slave in the true sense of the term (that is to say, a part of his goods and chattels), but rather a bondman for life, one who owes him service in the field, as a tiller of the soil; in return for which his master is bound to clothe, feed, and educate him as a responsible being; and that when he becomes infirm, and unable to do good and effective service, he is entitled to a home upon the estate, and becomes a charge upon it as long as life lasts. In youth, he is never set to any work, except of the lightest kind, until he is able to perform it without injury to himself.

Some planters will not suffer their servants to go into the field to pick cotton until the dew is off the plant, lest they should become ill; others will not permit them to hedge and ditch, and build drains, preferring to employ Irishmen for that purpose (partly because these are adepts at the use of the spade, which the negro is not, and partly because these can stand exposure to wet and cold better).

Slaves are now extensively employed, under the direction of white men, especially since the beginning of the war, in working on railways, in making the deep cuts by machinery, and in transferring the earth upon trucks, running on rails temporarily laid down, to fill up hollows and to make embankments: they are well fed, coarsely clad, and comfortably housed. As the growing of cotton is to a great extent suspended, and the wheat,

Indian corn, and potato crops need far less attention, numbers of negroes can be spared from the field to work on the railways now in progress, which in consequence of the war are greatly needed. Thousands of slaves have often been put at the disposal of the Government for the purpose of erecting fortifications and digging entrenchments; their masters asking no remuneration for their services, but only requiring them to be supplied with rations, clothing, and tents, like the soldier. In Georgia, at the present time, the planters are voluntarily sending a draft of their field-hands to be engaged in Government works, on the same terms.

X.

EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Southerner is so strenuous an advocate of the system of slavery, that he approves of everything connected with it, sanctioning even its abuses. He looks upon it as an evil intimately interwoven with all the various relations of social life, and he endeavours to deal with it accordingly. He accepts his responsibility, and he strives to meet it; but he knows that to emancipate the slave at once is to create an evil greater than that which he would remove—in fact, to doom a tract-

able, docile, and useful servant to certain barbarism. If suffered to remain as free-men among the whites, these millions would become idle and worthless, and either die off, or become so great an incubus upon the nation, as to compel the white man to destroy them. In accepting his responsibility, the faithful master endeavours to train his slave to usefulness, to fit him for his allotted task in life, to take the materials he finds to his hand, and to make the best use of them. Under this mild and patriarchal system, the negro is received as a man and a brother, his religious instruction keeping pace with his physical development. In the house of God, he and his master are on a perfect equality. He is a bondman, and yet the Lord's free man. How often have poor negroes reasoned with their godless masters concerning righteousness, temperance, judgment

to come, and that successfully! The Abolitionist would at once give these millions of beings the rights and privileges of freemen, professing to be ready to abide the results. Offering no compensation to the owner for the sacrifice he is called upon to make, he calls him a defaulter; he accuses him of "keeping back the hireling from his wages."

The Southerner meets the question as a philanthropist, as a statesman, as a Christian. He finds himself born to an estate, with perhaps hundreds of human beings dependent upon him for support, instruction, and guidance. They are apt in learning how to labour, nor is the task imposed upon them greater than they can bear. The utmost devotion to their masters and their families is often manifested by these servants; they take a deep interest in their affairs, and are proud to belong to men who distinguish them-

selves, either as statesmen or as soldiers. Are we to suppose that the true Christian in the South deceives himself as to the nature and extent of his responsibilities, and flatters himself with the delusion, that because he is a tender, kind, and considerate master, he is doing all in his power for their temporal and eternal good? Though he might resent the assaults of the fanatical Abolitionist as an invasion of his rights, or feel with truth that the Northern politician is unable to grapple with a question like this, and to master it in all its intricate workings; yet when he sees the number dependent upon him, he is almost crushed with the weight of his responsibility. A man who has not spent all his life among a slave population cannot understand them, and enter into their feelings, and sympathize with them, as those who have grown up with them from their infancy, and played with

them from the cradle. Imagine to yourself, if you can, the interest a master or mistress must take in an old servant who has faithfully nursed them in infancy, and has tended them in sickness and in health. The Southern planters moreover belong to a dominant class, called upon to rule a community, a whole village. A stranger coming among them as a proprietor can rarely enter into the feelings of his dependents as a native Southerner can; though he may be a kind, tender-hearted man, he will find it a hard task to bear with the wayward, to incite the idle, to reclaim the vicious, to guide the well-meaning but ignorant slave: his patience will be often tried, his Christian forbearance put to severe tests; his temper being chafed by little things, which the native master, understanding the negro character, accepts as a matter of course.

The amount of work expected of the

field-hand will not be more than one half of what would be demanded of the white man; and even that will not be properly done unless he be constantly overlooked. In sickness, negroes are but children, and must have the medicine administered to them by their master's or mistress's own hand, or they will not take it. There is also a trustfulness about them which forms a pleasing trait in their character; though this entire dependence upon a master for the most trifling matter proves very trying to the Northern man, who is accustomed to deal with those who can think and act for themselves. But the negro will not think. Why should he trouble and perplex himself, when there is his master ready to do all for him, and to guide him like a child?

The philanthropist, if he be himself a Christian, may see how the living energy of the Gospel, quickening the soul into

newness of life, is progressively fitting the slave, slowly and surely, for freedom and self-dependence. The mock philanthropist, who wishes to carry out a pet scheme, rarely reasons upon the results likely to grow out of his plans; but the Christian statesman sees the difficulty, and looks it in the face.

To prepare men for freedom, you must teach them God's word, you must show them their responsibility as immortal beings; you must set before them the fact that they are ransomed souls, that they owe to their Redeemer all that they have, all that they can do, "that they are not their own;" and by such teaching you will find, as it takes hold upon their hearts and affections, that you have laid a claim to their everlasting gratitude, which they feel and show unmistakably.

Having briefly sketched the manner

in which the Christian master deals with his responsibilities towards the immortal minds under his care, we now ask, How is he going to prepare the slave for freedom? We are now speaking of the negro as a race, not as an individual; for it is plain that this work must be the work of generations, not one to be accomplished in the course of one single life. The slave is a man; he claims at his master's hand, as soon as he is prepared to enjoy them, his rights as a freeman and as a brother; his colour need not of necessity doom him to perpetual supervision, and yet it seems to us as if, even as a freeman, he must be under such a system of pupilage as the white man exercises over him, for generations yet to come. How is the master going to deal with this vexed and vastly perplexing question? It is a problem which his life-work must progressively solve for

him. When others are ready, as we have already seen, to do it for him, to cut the Gordian knot of the difficulty with the sword, he meets them as foes, as the worst enemies of his slaves and of himself also. Need we have doubted for a moment that such unwarrantable interference, coming from such a fanatical source, would arouse the spirit of resistance on the part of the Southerner, who, viewing this question as a statesman, condemns at once such suicidal proceedings?

The President of the United States, after having issued his proclamation of emancipation as a part of his war policy, now comes forward with an emancipation scheme, which is diametrically opposed to it; but he still holds on to his measure of the 22nd of September last, with all the tenacity of his nature. Finding the Conservative party in the ascendant, he must, as soon as he can, attempt to con-

ciliate them. To do this, he holds out, in one hand, the sword of vengeance which is to sunder the ties between the slave and his rebel master, and in the other, the olive branch to the loyal slave-holders. He proposes, in this plan of emancipation, to indemnify the master, by giving him bonds of the United States, bearing a certain rate of interest, for the value of his slaves.

This is to apply to all those slave States which shall pass acts of emancipation between the present time and the year 1900 ; the compensation money being proportioned to the number of slaves in that particular State, according to the census of 1860. When the slaves are thus set free by the State, means must be found to take them out of the country, and to give them, either in Africa or Central America, a home where they may become a nation.

While it is certain that such a scheme of emancipation will not meet the views of the extreme Abolitionist, it is very doubtful whether the Conservative party in the North will approve of it; for, in the first place, if a fair compensation be allowed on the basis of the present census at 500 dollars a head, this will impose a burden of debt upon the nation, amounting to 2,000,000,000 of dollars, which, with the 2,000,000,000 of debt incurred in this war, will swell the amount to 4,000,000,000 of dollars, a burden which of itself would for ever crush the energy and industry of the people, taxed beyond all endurance. In the next place, the Conservative party will feel that it is not the province of the General Government to propose any scheme of emancipation whatever, be its merits what they may; and that, as the Southerners are, according to their own views, a separate nation, they

will deal with the question as their own sense of duty may dictate. Even if the members of both Houses should so far sanction the President's scheme, as to vote for the issue of such bonds to the States emancipating their slaves, it would have no influence upon the Southerners, and would therefore be a useless measure.

Nevertheless, Southern statesmen, as representatives of a nation of slave-owners, will sooner or later have to meet this difficulty. It is pressing itself upon the planter, and will have to be met in a statesman-like and Christian manner. Other interests besides those of the slave and his master are deeply involved. It is useless to blink the question. Fanatical legislation would only aggravate the difficulty, and bring ruin and desolation in its train. The Abolitionists promise certain results, and they fail; they give us dreams for realities, fancies for facts.

Still the emancipation question is looming in the distance. Nothing can be done until the South, as a separate nation, is left entirely to itself, to deal with all questions of internal policy without let or hindrance from without.

The outside pressure of the present moment is terrific. Fanaticism and superstition have maddened susceptible minds among the Northerners, and caused them to wage a war of destruction and extermination upon their enemies in the South, which will recoil upon their own heads with fearful force, and, if persisted in, ruin them utterly. How many precious lives have been sacrificed, how much blood shed on this question, which is as far removed from a satisfactory solution as ever !

Let the South once secure its independence, and it will then be fully prepared to meet the great question which

has already broken up the Union, and divided it into hostile sections—the slave and the free States.

In a matter like the present, each State must unquestionably act in its sovereign capacity. The mere forgetfulness of the fact that a nation cannot be born in a day, that a nation of slaves cannot at once use their freedom like those who for many generations have been free, has put a great stumbling-block in the way of all statesmen who have attempted to deal with this momentous question. If we reverently turn to the New Testament, we see there evidences of a wisdom which is more than human, not only in reference to its mode of dealing with the all-important questions of life, death, and judgment to come, but in the manner in which it passes others silently by. Though we find in the Epistles passing allusions to the system of slavery then prevalent

throughout the Roman Empire, yet we hear of no plan for the emancipation of the millions of human beings then groaning under the burden of an oppressive bondage. The Gospel of the Son of God has higher objects to attain than the mere removal of one social evil. Neither did our blessed Lord nor his apostles denounce the system. They did far more. They sought to change the heart of the individual man, and thus thoroughly to leaven society with the life, power, and energy of a living Gospel; and by so doing, progressively and without great upheavings of the social fabric, to remove every evil that called for a remedy. And how certainly and how surely was this done, we have the word of history to bear witness. The serfdom of the Middle Ages passed away, without even any legislation on the subject.

If the Spirit of the living God, reach-

ing the heart of man, changed of old the whole face of society, may we not reasonably hope that a Christian people, truly alive to their responsibility to God, will progressively do away, in the spirit of their Divine Master, with that great evil which exists among them; and do it moreover in such a mode, as will not convulse the whole nation, rending it to its base? No scheme which involves the immediate emancipation of a large number of slaves will meet with favour in any of the cotton and sugar growing States. This must be the work of time, perhaps of generations.

We would not venture, in a peculiarly perplexing question like this, involving so many other interests, to propose any definite scheme of emancipation. It would be presumption in us so to do. We will only attempt to point out such defects in the plan proposed by the President of the

United States as would naturally occur to the mind of a Southerner. First, the period pointed out by him, as the latest data for the carrying out of all acts of emancipation, would, it is true, give ample time for preparation, but at whatever period the State may fix upon, emancipation of all the slaves in it must at once follow. This is too sudden a transition. Few would be prepared for it. Rather let the State pass an act declaring that, after a certain date, every child born of a slave mother shall be free. This of course would leave all those who were slaves at the time of the passing of the act slaves still (for no provision of the act should have reference to them). But at the same time, they would reap all the benefit of the indirect influence of such legislation: they would cease to be transferable by sale; and before the period of twenty-one years had elapsed, many of

them would have paid the debt of nature, and given room for the rising generation born under different auspices. This would, first of all, prevent any sudden changes of national policy, and make the emancipation so gradual as to be almost imperceptible in its operation. Secondly, it would involve the necessity of educating these free-born servants for that freedom which they could lawfully claim at the age of twenty-one. It would also thus be in their power to indemnify their masters for their care of them in their youth, and for the expense incurred in their bringing up until that age. Thirdly, that at the age of twenty-one they should be entitled to the receipt of stated wages for their labour, proportioned to their skill and industry; to a cabin and a plot of ground on the place, and to a provision for their declining years, as pensioners on their master's estate. Some such

plan as this, giving the labourer a claim upon his owner for support in sickness or in old age (unless he should withdraw from the neighbourhood, and seek a home with another master), would bind together their mutual interests, and would give the planter a fair compensation for the loss of his labour as a slave. His land would retain its former value, perhaps even increase beyond it. And as the servant could not unaided bring his unskilled labour in competition with his master's capital, he, though a freeman, would have to seek employment under him ; and would be thus under a system of healthful pupilage, which would fit him to take progressive steps in the march of civilization, to be followed up by his children after him. Year by year his condition would improve, his intelligence develope ; no laws forbidding him to read would now exist, because all real or

fancied necessity for any such provision would have passed away.

Fears of competition with white labour would soon be allayed, because the negro is a fair average workman in his own peculiar field of labour, the plantations of the South.

The separation of families might go on as heretofore; but at least it would not be involuntary. Christian men have had the matter frequently set before them. Once this reform is carried out, as the Southerner alone can do it, peace and happiness will dwell in the land.

The existence of another and a distinct race depending upon them, not as slaves but as freemen, would promote the cultivation of all the kindly feelings, the charities, the forbearances of the upper classes, while it will foster in that lower race the sentiment of affectionate life-long dependence. The picture will

be the same as has heretofore existed, with the evils and defects removed.

Thus a docile, ever progressive, and gradually elevated race will remain in the South to till the land, while their religious and moral training is steadily going on from year to year. Whereas, if they be emancipated according to the scheme of the President of the United States, they will lack that very training under the influence of whites which they so greatly need. And they will for ever lose that privilege, if they be sent into another land, far away from all the beneficial influences by which, thus far, they have been guided.

XI.

PROSPERITY OF THE TWO SECTIONS, AS SEPARATE
NATIONALITIES, CONSIDERED.

It is interesting to see how, amid the clash of arms, each party, forced by the necessity of its position, has developed to the utmost the resources within its reach. They have discovered treasures of mineral wealth hitherto undreamed of, have put them into use, and are stimulated to explore them still further. The caves of the South have supplied them with large quantities of saltpetre; the salt works on the Atlantic coast have yielded supplies of salt so greatly needed. The States of Tennessee

and Missouri are rich in iron-ores; coal and sulphur also abound in many regions hitherto unexplored. The coal of Alabama, though not so good as that of the States further north, is abundant and easily worked: I have seen it cropping out on the banks of the Black Warrior river, near Tuscaloosa.

Now, although the country which once composed the United States of North America will not be so great nor so powerful as if it were a unit; although its almost boundless extent as one territory can no longer minister to the pride and pretension of those who are inclined to boast of its greatness and of its exhaustless resources; still, in all the true elements of greatness, each of the nations now springing up into independent existence will, if true to itself, far outstrip all the expectations that have hitherto been so fondly cherished; nay,

the material prosperity of each may even be much furthered by separation, and be based on a more secure foundation. The Northern States once freed from the South, and thus getting rid of all the perplexing questions which grew out of their union under one Government, will work out their true destiny; they will turn their attention to other and more inviting fields for the enterprising and daring among their own people. Even if the South, by direct trade with the rest of the world, should cut off a small part of the profits hitherto exclusively reaped by them, the Northerners, having their energies roused to the utmost, can, and doubtless will, by their untiring industry and their restless spirit of progress, open fields for the traffic of the West; constructing, for instance, the great railway to the Pacific Ocean, at once connecting with the East the iso-

lated States of California, Oregon, and the adjoining territories. This would also open a direct trade (viâ San Francisco, as the Pacific terminus of the railway to the Atlantic States) with China, Japan, Australia, and other countries in the Eastern hemisphere. They would also the more rapidly develop their mineral wealth in the copper mines of Upper Michigan, the lead mines of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa, and the iron and coal mines scattered through their extensive territory. Instead of aspiring to commercial and political supremacy in an overgrown territory, as formerly, they would exert their mechanical skill in the development and perfection of all the varied machinery used among them, and thus encourage the production of beautiful and useful inventions. The Western States also, being almost exclusively engaged in agriculture, will continue to

find a ready market among the growing millions of the South for all the products of their soil.

The South itself, having become independent of the North, will open its ports to the commerce of the world, and will find a ready sale for its staples of export (cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, hemp, &c., &c.), receiving in return all the finer fabrics of the several countries of Europe and the fruits of their vineyards and fields, at a moderate rate of duty. Southerners have already commenced a railway to the Pacific, beginning at Vicksburg, Mississippi, and extending on to Shreveport, Louisiana, and thence, through Northern Texas, seven hundred miles, in a direct line to Elp Paso. The last-mentioned State has made a grant of land, eight miles wide, in alternate sections, on each side of the road, in aid of the enterprise.

Each of the two divisions of the former United States, once become a separate nation, will thus be substantially benefited, working out singly, and unmolested by the other, the great problem of its existence as a republic. The populations of each of these divisions are in many respects essentially different; the only natural bond of union between them being the English language. The Southerners are chiefly the descendants of the Cavaliers of England, of the Huguenots of France, of the Highlanders of Scotland who settled in Georgia under the protection of General Oglethorpe, and of the early settlers of Louisiana, who emigrated from France in the days of the Regency. The Northerners are, in part, the descendants of the emigrant Independents of the seventeenth century, all energy, life, and activity; together with a large infusion of the Teutonic and

Celtic races from the North of Europe, which have during the last fifty years crowded to their shores : these last have so completely changed the character of the population in many of the States, that they cannot even be said to be Anglo-Saxon in speech.

The chief part of the population in the South earnestly desired, by means of this war, to escape from the intermeddling policy of Northern politicians, and to avoid the radical tendencies of a Government and people which would eventually have brought ruin upon them ; whereas the majority in the North are anxious for peace, and the restoration of that "Glorious Union" under which they specially reaped such enormous advantages. Some of these dread the further disintegration of the Union, as there is a growing disaffection towards it in the West. This would be a real calamity to the North-

erners ; for it would cut them off from any hope of ever developing their resources in that direction. To avoid such a disastrous result, they would have at once to inaugurate a liberal policy as to duties on imports, which would meet the views of the settlers in the far West. The only way in which any country can preserve itself from crumbling to pieces, is to make, from time to time, wise and liberal concessions to the various interests within its borders. To accuse the two sections of the country, as has been done in some quarters, of some purely selfish and hidden purpose in upholding their own side of the great question, is to attribute to the whole country the formation of contemptible designs, worthy only of a few scheming politicians on the one hand, and of fanatical revolutionaries on the other.

These are some of the reasons which induce the writer to believe that the

North will not by any means necessarily be impoverished by a timely separation from the South. Let politicians take warning, ere it be too late. Let the Conservative members of Congress exert all their influence to induce the legislature to lead the way to a speedy settlement of all difficulties; for if this useless attempt at subjugation be persisted in, it will bring a financial crisis which will cripple the resources of the country for years, and perhaps so exhaust it, as to leave it burdened with a debt which it can never pay. The South cannot be subdued; the immense extent of its territory, if nothing else, would prevent it; and even if it could be overpowered, such would be the state of poverty and ruin to which it would be reduced, that it could not share the burden of debt incurred in conquering it. Yet it was at one time the cry of the extreme party of the North, "Let us

- make the South pay the war debt, and if it cannot do it, let us divide its territory among the crowded populations of our free States." Well may we, for the true interests of humanity, desire that this disastrous and suicidal war come to a speedy close, before the evils which we dread come upon both parties in the fray. The Morrell tariff, to which we have already alluded, is an insuperable bar to the prosperity of the Northern States. It must as soon as possible be set aside; for while it admits the productions of European looms without difficulty so long as the war lasts, it will virtually exclude them on the return of peace. Western farmers will refuse to buy at such rates, and will devise some means of avoiding that burdensome tax, which can only benefit the Eastern manufactures at the expense of the whole people. These last need no further protection than that

which can be given by a tariff for revenue; for the doctrine of upholding the protection of home industry is a fallacy, inasmuch as it taxes the many for the benefit of the few.

XII.

UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH.

THE Episcopal Church of the United States has always striven to take an active part in the diffusion of sound learning in every section of the country, North and South. To do this efficiently, she has founded in several of the Northern, and in one or two of the Southern States, universities, in which young men are fully prepared for the higher professions; and colleges, in which they may be well grounded in learning. Though there are many State Universities in the Confederacy, and several other institu-

tions founded and supported by the different denominations of professing Christians, and under their special patronage; the want of such a university, founded by the Church, and conducted in accordance with its discipline, was severely felt. In a country where the Episcopal Church, in the eyes of the law, occupies no higher position than the various denominations around her, where she has to maintain her ground by struggling amid great difficulties, and contending against the great weight of prejudice which rises as a wall to stay her progress, her need of an educated and earnestly devoted body of ministers is evident.

With the exception of Virginia and Maryland, no Southern State has any institution conducted under the exclusive auspices of the Church, in which the great principles of the Gospel are fully set forth, and our young men carefully guided by

experienced and learned teachers ; they are therefore compelled to receive their professional education in institutions either directly hostile to the Church, or indifferent to it, as State institutions must of necessity be. Hence the young men who usually fill the ranks of the clergy are almost all Northerners, because of the want of facilities among us for the thorough education of our own youths. Not that the clergy now officiating in our Southern churches, though chiefly educated in Northern colleges, or in the English and Irish universities, are at all unfaithful to their trust ; far from it. They are truly anxious to do the work of the Church well in the peculiar field which the South presents, as earnest preachers, as faithful pastors, just as much as those educated and trained among us. The clergy in the North are as truly a conservative body as they are in the South ; hence

the friendly feeling existing between them. Let a Northern clergyman come to the South, he at once finds himself at home among his fellow Churchmen ; the great truths for which they all contend, the principles which form the strong bond of union between them, make them feel as one man; whatever may be their views on topics unconnected with their all-important work. Still the Church in the South, like that in the West in former years, cannot extend her borders, lengthen her cords, and strengthen her stakes, until a class of young men, brought up and educated there, acquainted with all that belongs to its peculiar state of society, rise up to minister to its people. A university in the South, gathering around it all the conservative influence of the Church, would produce an effect upon the public mind, whether in or out of the pale of her communion, like that which the

two great universities of Oxford and Cambridge exercise over the English mind. None but those who fully understand the state of things in America, and the causes which have brought about this war, can appreciate the value of such a centre of influence in the Church as a first-class university must become. The experience of the few past years has tended to show that the conservatism of the Church is the sheet-anchor of the State, and that though there can, by law, be no union of Church and State in the land, yet, when untrammelled and free as it is, the Church is a mighty power for good in the State. The Gospel moulds and fashions the whole life, because it begins with the inner man of the heart. So the Church, by its faithful and earnest teachings, does the same in a community; though not of the world, still it is in the world, and has its own peculiar work to do in it. Beginning with

the individual man, its influence spreads from mind to mind, and the earnest thought and commanding talent mould and fashion public opinion. One illustration will suffice. Harvard University, the chief and the wealthiest university in New England, which has for years been in the hands of the Unitarian body, has done more towards influencing the public mind in Massachusetts and the adjoining States, on all questions connected with State policy, than all the other institutions of the kind in New England put together. Its theology, its literature, its politics, all receive their impress from the minds educated in that institution. This is especially true of Boston, the so-called Athens of America.

The credit of having originated the idea of founding a university for the South, with a view to the pressing necessities of the Church, is due to the Right

Rev. Leonidas Polk, Bishop of the diocese of Louisiana. Some years ago, he sent a circular to the bishops of the ten Southern dioceses, leaving out the five border States, recommending his plan, and urging upon them to adopt it. This was done at least two years before the war; so that it was not done in anticipation of a separation of the States into two confederacies. His plan was cordially approved of by his brethren in the episcopate, and ably seconded. He at first suggested the raising of the sum of £100,000, with a grant of land for the buildings and grounds. We may here incidentally mention that the scheme was also warmly approved of by all the leading members of the Church in every Northern State, as it showed to them unmistakable signs of the fact that the clergy of the South were fully waking up to the immensity of the work before them, and prepared to undertake it, in the spirit

of dependence upon the great Head of the Church. Let any one take a map of the United States, and run a line from the northern boundary of North Carolina to the north of Tennessee and Arkansas, and they can at once form some conception of the extent of the task to be undertaken. Deputies were sent from the ten dioceses to the convention appointed by the bishops of Georgia and Louisiana, and they determined upon the site, several having been put before them for selection. In the mountain region of Tennessee, there is a table-land of large extent, and of sufficient elevation, forming the spur of the Cumberland mountains, and gradually blending with the surrounding country called the Sewanee mountain. After having secured a charter from the State of Tennessee, they received a donation of 5000 acres of land, with other privileges, from the Sewanee Railway Company, and of

5000 more from various parties in the vicinity, forming thus a body of land of 10,000 acres, or nearly sixteen square miles in extent. The State limited their possession of landed property to these 10,000 acres, and whatever additional grants they might receive were to be sold for their benefit. The amount first suggested as the endowment fund was increased to three millions of dollars, which, at 10 per cent., would yield an income of £60,000. The site chosen for the main buildings of the university is a beautiful one, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country. It now bears the name of University Place. The interest which is received from the capital must be applied to the erection of the buildings in the first instance, to the purchasing of the different departments of a public library, and to the payment of the salaries of the Chancellor, the President, and the

Professors. There are to be professors for every department of science and literature. Nor was there much difficulty in securing the funds for the endowment; one individual, for instance, a Tennessean, gave at the outset a promise of 25,000 dollars per annum while he lived, and 500,000 dollars at his death. Other donations were pouring rapidly in, until the war put a stop to all contributions. An invitation was extended to the clergy and distinguished laymen of the neighbouring dioceses, by the Chairman of the Committee, now the Chancellor of the University (the Right Rev. James H. Otey, D.D.), to attend the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the main building, on the 10th of October, 1860. Among the addresses delivered on the occasion, were those of John Preston, Esq., of South Carolina, and of Lieut. M. F. Maury, late of the National Observatory at Washington city. When this was done,

the work was commenced indeed with great zeal; but it cannot now be resumed until the restoration of peace, Tennessee having been one of the seats of war. In the mean time, the grounds are being laid out and surveyed by a competent engineer. Such is the interest felt in the enterprise, that many persons have expressed a wish to build summer residences in the vicinity, creating at once something like a village, or small country town, to be called Sewanee. The sale of lots will add to the revenues of the college. This university is to contain within itself the several schools of law, medicine, and theology, with other advantages for students who wish for a more general education.

The student has a certain curriculum assigned him, according to the profession which he has chosen. One who desires to qualify himself for a civil engineer, for instance, when he has once attained to a

certain standard of learning, need pursue no other studies than those which relate to that particular branch ; and after having gone through this course of study with credit to himself, he graduates as a civil engineer. Though this university is in every sense a Church institution, no religious test will be required on the part of the pupil, until he comes up for his degree. It is the great hope of the founders of this institution, that it will be so thoroughly imbued with the influence and teaching of the Church, as to become to all intents and purposes the exponent of the sentiments of Episcopalians throughout the country. To secure this end, the scientific as well as the classical departments will be altogether in the hands of Churchmen. When, at a meeting of the Diocesan convention of Mississippi, the Governor of the State being present as a lay deputy, the question of the university was discussed ;

this official refused at first in any way to favour the enterprise, or to take any part in it, because, as ex-officio Chancellor of the State University, he did not see the necessity of the erection of a new institution on so gigantic a scale. But afterwards, when he fully realized the object of its establishment, he no longer hesitated, and he is now one of its firmest friends and supporters.

In an article in the *Church Review*, a suggestion was made to establish, in connection with the university, a grammar school for 500 or 600 pupils, conducted on the same plan as grammar schools in England usually are ; so that any student, after having gone through the preparatory course, could enter the university with advantage. If additional funds can be obtained for the endowment of such a grammar school, there is no doubt that it will be grafted into the plan. The effect

of this will be that all other grammar schools in the South will adopt, as far as practicable, the course prescribed for that one ; so that, like the great universities of England, this institution will have a number of collateral feeders in the shape of grammar schools, whose pupils will be prepared for entering its halls.

The attention of the committee was also drawn to another point, the endowment of scholarships and fellowships ; the former of these being designed to aid students of promise, with limited means, who, having successfully competed for the prizes, would be prepared to take a high stand in the university. The present Chancellor, Dr Otey, Bishop of Tennessee, is a thoroughly earnest and competent man, who has the best interests of the institution at heart, and will conduct its affairs with prudence and wisdom. He told me that at one time he was almost

the only Churchman west of the Alleghany mountains.

Let us for a moment look at the prospects of the institution. An income of £60,000 a year, 10,000 acres of land, which, as soon as the university comes into full operation, will be worth at least £10,000; the rising up of a town within the limits of the corporation, which, by the sale of building lots within it, will yield a good revenue. All these advantages, together with a charter in perpetuity, granted by the State legislature, which gives the academical authorities the full control and management of all their affairs without any interference on the part of the State, will be invaluable. In a climate like that of the Southern States, it is desirable to secure a temperate region, exposed to neither extremes of heat or cold: the elevated table-lands of Tennessee were chosen on that account.

It is interesting to see how, in a new country like this, which fifty years ago was inhabited by Indian tribes, enterprises of this kind spring up and go onward in the course of a few years to their perfect completion. Here was a suggestion made by a bishop of the Church, who was fully convinced of its practicability, carried out by the joint action of ten dioceses, with the cordial approbation of Northern Churchmen, and enlisting hearty lay co-operation, even beyond the expectations of its originators. No one can fully estimate the influence of such an institution over the whole South. Young men will proudly point to it as their Alma Mater; and will, on leaving it, still look to its interests, and send their sons to be educated there. As, in all other Church institutions in the country, peculiar privileges are granted to the sons of the clergy; so, we trust, that in this, the model uni-

versity of the South, these privileges will be extended to them as a right, and not as a gift. Why should not the sons of the clergy receive their education free of expense to their friends, since it is but a debt which the Church owes to the pioneers who, a few years ago, unfurled the banner of the Cross on the wild wastes, and among the dense woods of those then newly settled States? The clergy have ever been the staunch friends of education, not merely as given in the State and city schools and colleges, but as taught in the Church; and it is a satisfaction to them to feel that their labours in the cause will meet with an adequate reward. What influence the teaching of the Church may have had upon the politics of the two sections of the country hitherto, need not be discussed in this place; but it is undoubtedly true that we must henceforth educate in our own institutions all our professional

men, if we would escape those evils of ultra-radicalism in religion and politics, which have swept like a flood over the whole land, and left it as a legacy one of the most cruel wars that the world has ever seen.

Small as is the number of Episcopalians in the South, they are already exerting an influence in the councils of the nation and in the legislative halls of the different States; they have a large proportion of the chaplains and officers of the army. Nay, as we will presently see, they are also exerting an influence in the Northern States, as the conservatives of the land, who are striving to stem the tide of ruin, and to calm the tumult of the people. A Church so truly conservative, must and will exert an influence over the ruling minds of the country, and through them over the masses of the population. The Presbyterian, Methodist, and other deno-

minations in the South, cut off from their brethren in the North by their party legislation, cherish a kindlier feeling towards members of the Church than ever. They respect the learning, the liberality, and catholicity of the Church and its teachings: they feel that in it they have an influential ally which ever stands foremost in the breach, against every error that may assault the faith once delivered to the saints; and that in the statesmen who are members of that body, they have able defenders of their rights and privileges as citizens of the Southern Confederacy. This is the stronghold of the new university. It enlists the support and confidence of Churchmen, because it is from its halls that they are henceforth mainly to look for influential men, both in Church and State. Moreover, it will be, as the first university founded in the South-western States, generally looked up to as the one

to go in advance of the rest, and to give a tone to every college which will spring up after it.

Colleges and universities founded by the Church, and afterwards fostered by State influence and patronage, run great risk of being, in the course of time, moulded after a different pattern. Columbia College in New York (before the Revolutionary war known as King's College) is a Church institution in the city of New York. The State of New York has granted it some new privileges, and hence appoints its directors. These, as citizens of the State, belonging to the different denominations in it, are still by the charter bound to elect no officers or professors except Episcopalians. A short time ago, a Unitarian was presented as a fit candidate for one of the Professorships. Dr Gardiner Spring, a venerable minister of the Presbyterian Church, as one of the directors, represented

that this person was not, according to the charter of the institution, fit to be presented to the Board as a candidate for the office; and that on that ground alone, would he oppose his nomination: for when he assumed the office of director, he did so with the full understanding that he was to be governed by the terms of the charter. His firmness decided the matter at once without further debate. All men, however, are not so conscientious or so firm as he was. Yet there may have been no real danger; for even, if elected, it is possible that the candidate, not being an Episcopalian, could not have filled the chair. Still, it is wise in establishing a new institution, to avoid such a contingency, not from hostility to Presbyterians and others, but for the sake of maintaining the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church intact. In a country like the United States, where the Church has

no foundation to rest upon but the principles of its most holy faith, Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, it is wise to use all lawful safe-guards against the introduction of error in doctrine. Experience has shown that this Church is one of the greatest strongholds in the country against erroneous teaching; it is therefore its sacred duty, by its own inherent authority, so to rule its affairs as to win the confidence of all true and earnest Christians in the country, be they Churchmen or not.

We have already spoken of the influence of Harvard University upon the literature, theology, and politics of the eastern States. It possesses another engine of influence in its university press, which is constantly issuing works which are scattered broadcast over the land, and, either directly or indirectly, mould the opinions of thousands of minds. Might

not the establishment of a university press in the South exercise a similar, though more healthy, ascendancy in literary circles, as well in the Church as in the State?

XIII.

THE PART WHICH THE SECTS AND CHURCHES
HAVE TAKEN IN THIS CONFLICT.

THE history of the great struggle now going on in the States would be incomplete, if the part which the different denominations of Christians in the country have had in bringing it on were passed by unnoticed. About thirty years ago, there was in New England a body of men, few in number, little considered, and having no political influence, who advocated the immediate abolition of slavery, as a national sin. These men became for the most part infidels and despisers of God's Word; but their influence began to be felt in New

England among the religious bodies commonly known as Unitarians and Universalists. From these, after a time, their views gained ground among the various denominations of Christians in the free States. At length, after many years, the Methodist and Baptist sects, which are by far the largest religious bodies in the land, espoused the cause, and eventually cut off from their communion all their ministers and members in the South, as slaveholders; refusing to receive them again as Church members, unless they ceased to be proprietors of plantations in the South, or to have anything to do with slaves.

The Presbyterian Church, in the year 1837, separated, on doctrinal grounds alone, into two bodies, called the Old and the New School. In the course of time, the Old School, being the more conservative body of the two, gained a firm foothold in the South, while the rival section seemed

to concentrate its strength in the North. It was not, however, until the breaking out of hostilities, and until the division of the country into two distinct nationalities, that the Old School cut off its Southern members; yet not as slaveholders, but as disunionists.

John C. Calhoun, the greatest statesman in the South, and the avowed champion of States rights, showed in his seat in Congress how the division of these two above-mentioned denominations, on the great question between the North and the South, must be looked upon but as a prelude to a similar disruption of the State. But though two of the leading religious bodies in the country did divide on this test-question, they were not really the chief authors of the evil which now exists. Certain prominent individuals, who for some years have been the zealous advocates of immediate and unconditional abo-

lition, have devoted their Sunday evenings to the discussion of this topic in its social, religious, and political bearings. Two of these preachers, Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn and Dr Cheever of New York, have succeeded by their commanding talents in attracting large crowds, converting the pulpit for the time into a focus of political controversy, to the great gratification of their popular audiences.

Up to this time, the Episcopal Church, being conservative, has kept aloof from this exciting subject. Its pulpit has throughout been exclusively devoted to setting forth the true and living Word, the Gospel of the Son of God. So with the Presbyterian and other Christian denominations in the South. Nothing is suffered to turn them away from the strict path of duty, while thousands of waiting souls are giving earnest heed to the word, as it falls from their lips, and anxiously

receiving that message which speaks peace and pardon to them through a Saviour's blood. Nor is it only in its watchful care to avoid the desecration of the pulpit by the introduction of exciting themes, in its synodical action also, has the Church in the South shown the meekness of wisdom ; it has steered clear of all those intricate and perplexing discussions which naturally spring up from this vexed question of anti-slavery agitation. It is true that in the South steps have recently been taken to unite the several dioceses into one organization, called " The Episcopal Church of the Confederate States ;" not however with a view to the establishment of a different communion, but rather to make the Church conform in its outward relations to the present position of affairs in the State. In other words, it is to be a national, not an ecclesiastical, separation. The members of the Episcopal

Church in the North, when assembled in general convention in October last, showed a strong disposition to bear patiently with the brethren in the South, and a great unwillingness, even in these exciting and perilous times, to mix politics with religion. They deplored the evils of the war which has put a wall of separation between both branches of the same communion, and expressed an earnest desire once more to enjoy the blessings of peace and brotherhood. But they resolutely determined to enter into no legislative action on the subject which might seriously embarrass their mutual relations after the war. They looked upon the course pursued by the South as a separation, on purely national grounds, and not as a schismatical act; for, if in the good providence of God the Union should be restored, they felt assured that their fellow Christians in the South would again become, not only ecclesias-

tically but nationally, one with them as before. But so complete has the separation between the two belligerent sections become, that there are no longer any bonds of union binding them together, save those of a common origin and a common faith.

XIV.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

It was not until the year 1841 that I moved into the Southern States, after spending the five years previous in the city of Philadelphia, and in the hilly regions of Pennsylvania, and one summer in the New England States. Of the South I then knew nothing, and heard nothing. It seemed as though it was indeed a foreign country to the native of the middle States. Curiosity rarely prompted the traveller to cross the boundaries which separate them. Railways were comparatively unknown, and stage-coach travelling, for hundreds of miles together at a time,

through indifferent roads, was very fatiguing. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were still the far West; emigrants in crowds were flocking westward, waggons containing their all, their wives, and their children, were constantly to be seen filling up the roads for miles together. New York city, with Brooklyn and the adjacent towns, having now a joint population of upwards of one million, had not at that time more than three hundred thousand. Philadelphia, which with its suburbs numbers over 800,000, had then about 200,000. It was while residing in the latter city that an opportunity was afforded me of inquiring into the condition of the negro population in the large Northern cities. In Philadelphia, many, attracted by the well-known sympathy of the Society of Friends for the poor despised black man, came and settled in one of the districts in the lower part of the town. So unruly and unmanageable

did they at last become, that the citizens found it unsafe to pass through that locality, even in broad daylight. A physician having occasionally to visit the sick among them, told me that at night no man's life there was safe ; and that it was only his professional character which gave him as it were a safe-conduct through that dangerous quarter. At length, in the year 1837, the patience of the citizens became exhausted. Public indignation rose to a great height, and was vented against these offenders in various ways, ending at last in the expulsion of at least one thousand, who took refuge in the adjoining States. Ill clothed, poorly fed, uncared for, and forgotten, is it to be wondered at that these wretched outcasts, earning at best but a precarious subsistence, careless, improvident, and sometimes utterly reckless, should at last fall into the lowest depths of degradation and vice ?

The Pennsylvanians were striving by means of railways and canals to develop the mineral wealth in their coal, iron, and copper mines. The 40,000 square miles of coal-beds in Illinois, and those in the other Western States, were then totally unknown; as were indeed all the other mineral treasures in the North-West, in the West, and in the South, which have since been discovered. The great valley of the Mississippi, with its millions of fertile acres, was as yet, with the exception of Louisiana and Lower Mississippi, almost a desert, inhabited by the remnants of the various tribes which had removed into the Indian territory. But all, in the course of a few years, was changed. Railways now intersect the country in every direction, facilitate the transport of the products of the soil, develop the material wealth that was before unproductive, stimulate enterprise in every de-

partment of industry, and bring together in daily contact the inhabitants of the different sections of the nation. Telegraph lines also convey intelligence with rapidity and ease from one extremity of the land to another. Was it not therefore reasonable to hope, that if aught merely human could do it, all this would bind more closely into one body the many and often discordant elements of which society was composed; that sectional animosity would die out, local prejudices disappear, and joint interests unite those who would be governed by such motives? Was it not also reasonably to be expected that, as education was diffused among the masses, and there was constant interchange of the thoughts, views, and feelings of the citizens of the different States, it would in time bring these incongruous materials of a population, drawn from almost every part of

Europe, into something like unity, if not unanimity of sentiment?

All important issues between the North and South seemed for ever at rest. But in the year 1860, during the Presidential canvass, the Black Republican party, whose avowed hostility to everything Southern is well known, raised the standard of an uncompromising and relentless war against the extension of slave labour into the "*Territories*."* During that summer, many of their Southern friends entreated them to act with deliberation, nay, besought them to give up all enmity against everything Southern; for if they did not, they might kindle a flame of civil war in the land which would not be so easily quenched. Some laughed at the absurdity of the idea, and said that they designed no attack upon the South, but only to impose restric-

* Districts not yet constituted as States.

tions upon any future encroachments. Others re-considered the subject, and gave up this war of opposition at the ballot-box. The Black Republicans were repeatedly warned of the danger to which the Union, of which they were so justly proud, was exposed. They did not, they would not believe it. "The South go to war to defend its rights before they are assailed! Absurd idea!" I ventured to ask some of my friends what they would do in the event of the election of the Black Republican candidate? Their reply was, "The South will be compelled to secede; for, if we yield now, those Northerners will encroach more and more upon us, until they take away all our rights." "Why not wait," I said, "until the President and his Cabinet, by some overt act, compel you to go to war? He may be the candidate of a faction; but when once he reaches the chair as our Executive, he

will strive to be, as others before him, the President of the United States, and not the tool of a party." To this they replied, "They have selected their man. He is not the man to take a comprehensive view of things; he is honest, but narrow-minded, easily guided by those who will be the real possessors of that power of which he will be only the representative." "Then," I again urged, "if compelled at last to secede, why not wait until, by concert of action, you can, as States, show your real power in your unity?" The reply was, "The case is too urgent a one; if we had time, co-operation would be best; but each State must decide for itself, and then unite with its sister States?" Again I ventured to suggest, "If their candidate should disappoint their expectations, and be in fact, as well as in name, the President of the United States?" "The difficulty would only be

put off four years longer," was the reply ; "and in the mean time, as a party, they would gain strength for another and a more fearful onset." I looked upon the prospect of a disruption with dread, and felt how unprepared the South was for war, if called upon to defend herself against the countless hosts of the North. The parish of which I was at that time Rector, is situated on the Gulf coast of the State of Mississippi. The whole of that coast, for seventy miles or more, is a favourite place of summer resort for the inhabitants of New Orleans, and for the planters from the interior ; who come there to enjoy the sea breeze, and the benefit of sea-bathing. Several towns, within a few years, have grown up, filled with elegant summer residences, chiefly the property of these visitors. Instead of extending far back, these dwellings line the coast for miles, following the bends

and curves. There is a beautiful carriage road along the shore, 150 feet wide, shaded on either side with oaks, magnolias, tulip trees, and other trees peculiar to a southern clime; and opposite almost every house, a wharf juts out into the sea, leading to one or more bath-houses in the Gulf. The town of Shieldsborough is situated on a high bluff, extending seven miles along the shore to the bay of St Louis, while the land in the rear, for about twenty miles, is almost a perfect level. The soil is sandy, barren, and unproductive, except on the banks of the little streams which flow into the Gulf. The entire country, for hundreds of miles, is covered with large forests of gigantic yellow-pine trees, having — instead of a thick undergrowth, common to all other forests—a carpet of coarse native grass, which, during the summer season, furnishes food for thousands of wild cattle; the cane brakes in

the marshes, and on the banks of the rivers, forming their winter supply. The principal inhabitants are proprietors of extensive steam saw-mills, who find a ready market for all the timber they can ship to New Orleans. Another class take extensive tracts of land, and notch all the trees, collecting the sap flowing from them, of which they make spirits of turpentine and resin. The poorer class are charcoal-burners, who also find a ready sale for their products. As the soil is poor, the inhabitants of the whole coast are dependent upon the city of New Orleans for all their supplies, with the exception of fruits and vegetables. Daily steam communication was kept up during the summer with New Orleans, Mobile, and all the intermediate towns, for the accommodation of residents, permanent as well as temporary. During the summer, about 5000 visitors come from all

parts of the country, to enjoy themselves, and to seek health and strength from the bracing atmosphere. None seemed to anticipate coming evil. The few who were well acquainted with the state of affairs, discussed them in quiet; even they hardly looked for the dread alternative of war as the only means of settling difficulties. Month after month rolled on, until the long-looked-for election time, in November, 1860. Anxious crowds were then gathered around the telegraph offices to hear the official returns of State after State.

When the election of the candidate of the extreme party in the North was certain, many of us felt that the nation was now going to pass through a fearful crisis, the ultimate results of which no one could foresee. At length, the news of the secession of South Carolina reached us; and close upon her followed the

South Atlantic and Gulf States. Here were we at once, by the action of our rulers, cut off from the Union, and anxiously waiting to see what was next to be done. In a short time, the provisional government was organized. All the events that followed up in close succession are well known to the world. In the summer of 1861, there was an indefinite dread hanging over all minds, that we should soon be blockaded, and our usual supplies cut off. Gun-boats were soon seen in our waters for the defence of our coast; and one by one the line of steamers to Mobile was withdrawn. During that summer, 3000 troops, under Brigadier-General Dahlgren, were stationed at the different points; Ship Island was fortified, and under this seeming protection supplies continued to reach us from the city. But soon after, Ship Island was aban-

doned, and all the troops, including two companies of Horse Artillery, were concentrated at Shieldsborough; and in the course of the winter the best of them were sent to Columbus, Kentucky, for the defence of the Mississippi river. The blockading fleet was at times distinctly visible; and as the authorities found that troops were less needed for the defence of the coast than to fight the battles in the border States, the few of us who remained were left to the protection of the gun-boats, and of one company of artillery. Just previous to this, at Christmas, 1861, we received an unexpected visit from the captain of the French steam frigate "Le Milan;" who, having had his wheel-house stove in by one of the blockading fleet at the mouth of the Mississippi, came to Ship Island for repairs. As he desired to reach New Orleans, Commodore Smith, of the block-

ading fleet, recommended his coming to the coast, and thence making his way to the city. He did so, and spent several days with us, having refused the polite offer of a Federal gun-boat to convey him on his way, lest this might create a prejudice against him among us. The following week he did not hesitate to return in a Confederate gun-boat, so far as was safe for it to go. His landing on our shore created no small excitement among the French population, who recognized the national flag, and were prepared to welcome him; but some of our soldiers, hearing that he had come from Ship Island, looked on him with suspicion. In his interview with the commander of the port, I acted as interpreter, and enjoyed the conversation exceedingly. Day after day, the enemy's fleet pressed more closely upon us, until from the public road we could see the

fighting going on almost daily. Once, on my way to one of the camps to hold divine service, I witnessed a pretty close engagement, between two Confederate and two or three Federal gun-boats. So great was the excitement, on the whole line of road and in the camp, that it was almost impossible to fix the attention of the soldiers. At length, fearing from day to day that all communication with New Orleans would soon be cut off, we determined to remove into the interior. Having now obtained the charge of a vacant parish, I returned as soon as possible for my family; but heard, on reaching New Orleans, that the Federal gun-boats had come so near to Fort Pike, that another engagement had occurred, and that henceforth no gun-boats would go beyond the Fort, until they went out in force. This was in the latter end of March, 1862. There remained thus no

apparent means for me to reach my destination. In company with two or three other gentlemen, I ventured to take a passage as far as the Fort, hoping there to find some way of getting even to the mouth of the river. By the courtesy of the officer in command, early next morning we secured our passage in another boat just going out to see if any of the enemy were in sight. We soon arrived safely at Pass Christian; from thence, after two days' delay, I got over to the other side of the Bay of St Louis, and found my family anxiously awaiting me. On Sunday, after officiating twice, I parted with deep regret from both my congregations, now composed almost entirely of old men, and of women and children. Next day, we drove through the pine woods until late in the evening, so as to get to Pearl River in time for the steamer. On our way, we fell in with

some charcoal burners, and asked them if they did not dread the coming of the enemy in force? They replied that the barren nature of the country was defence enough; that the enemy could get no supplies; and that the few men who remained could very easily repel large numbers, by taking each a double-barrelled gun, with necessary ammunition, a crust of bread, and some cheese. Scattered through the woods in every direction, they could assail them unseen, and thus strike terror into a large body. The event has proved the truth of this remark. The enemy landed, shelled one of the towns, driving the women and children in terror to take shelter in the woods, burnt and destroyed steam saw-mills, but never ventured a mile beyond their gun-boats; so that the inhabitants, though poor and suffering, can still communicate with the interior. Being afterwards

asked the reason of this barbarous treatment of helpless women and children, the officers replied, "that as long as a company of Confederate soldiers remained on the coast, they would consider themselves justified in shelling them out." The troops had all left, with the exception of a troop of cavalry, and the enemy were suffered to enjoy their barren conquest almost unmolested. We reached the city of New Orleans the next day, and found soldiers still leaving in large numbers for the battle-field. A short time before, there had been a review of the city troops in a body of 25,000 strong, a small part of which were only home-guards, but the rest volunteers for the war. We went up to Terry, a station 17 miles from the city of Jackson, Mississippi, to reside. We arrived there on the 1st of April, being accompanied by a whole regiment of infantry, which was

on its way to Corinth. Train after train of troops passed our house night and day, cheering as they went along. The battle of Shiloh, in which the brave and skilful General Sidney Johnson was killed, followed immediately after, April 6th and 7th. A few days later, a train of wounded men, 700 in number, came down, and stopped at our station. One of my sons recognized several of these as belonging to a regiment which had been stationed on the coast. He asked them to give him news from the battle-field, but the cry for water put an end to his inquiries; he ran and collected a number of idle servants, and with their aid, brought bucket after bucket of water for these poor suffering fellows, the train waiting until all had been supplied. From that time, the planters sent provisions, with milk, and bread, and water, to every train; making no distinction

between prisoners and Confederate soldiers. I do not attempt to describe battles, but only to give a few interesting incidents then told me by those who took a part in them. General Johnson's plan of attack was to defeat, if possible, General Grant's army before General Buell could come up with reinforcements. He set out with his whole force on a march of twenty miles; but the heavy rains, and the consequent bad state of the roads, prevented his reaching the scene of conflict until Sunday morning, April 6th. So unexpected was his attack, that he came into the midst of the camp while some were preparing their breakfast; while others, who were still lying in their tents, had only time hastily to rush out, and form in the rear.

For several hours, the fight continued with varied success; and many of our men, who had started with two days'

rations in their knapsacks, threw all away, in the excitement of battle, and suffered greatly through the day for want of food.

At 2 o'clock p.m., on Sunday, General A. S. Johnson, leading the main body of his army, exposed himself too rashly to the fire of the enemy, and was shot in the leg. He felt the wound but slightly, and still went on urging his men, until, feeling faint, he fell off his horse into the arms of General Hindman, one of his staff, who stood by; and expired. The shot had severed an artery, and thus caused him to bleed to death. Had he stopped, as he was advised to do, his valuable life might have been spared: even after he was wounded, he drew the attention of his surgeon to a suffering soldier near him, remarking that his wound was slight, and needed no immediate at-

tention. Thus this brave General fell a victim to his forgetfulness of self.

It was rumoured at the time that the bitter denunciations of the press, at his want of readiness to send aid to the brave troops of Fort Donelson, while he was defending Bowling Green, Kentucky, against a large army of Federals, had so wrought on his feelings, as to make him daring to fool-hardiness, and reckless of his valuable life, at the battle of Shiloh. It is now known that, instead of having 18,000 troops to keep the enemy at bay, he had but 4000, having sent all his available men to that very Fort. His masterly retreat from thence to Jackson, Tennessee, was afterwards duly appreciated; but at the time of this battle, he was as it were under a cloud. His remains came down the road, in a few days, on their way to his family and friends.

General Beauregard now took the command; and the Federal army was so completely defeated and driven to their gun-boats on the Tennessee river, that they began piling their arms in token of surrender. Colonel Marshall Smith told me, a few days after the battle, that another half hour's fighting would have given a decisive victory to the Confederates. Brigadier-General Prentiss, and parts of several regiments under him, were taken prisoners. Here, however, the tide of success seems to have stopped: the soldiers, having now lost their chief commander, began to think more of plundering the tents and getting provisions, than of maintaining their ground. Had they left that night, the battle of Shiloh would have been a complete success, so far as concerned the preventing the junction of Generals Grant and Buell; but they remained until the next day, renew-

ing the fight in a partially disorganized condition; Buell's fresh forces came up, and the Confederates now fought under every disadvantage, until it was deemed advisable by General Beauregard to retreat to Corinth: which was accordingly done, General Breckenridge, strengthened by three regiments of cavalry (which raised his effective force to 12,000 men), protecting the rear. A Federal, who was compulsorily present at the battle in the Confederate ranks, says "that the pursuit on the part of the Federals seemed feeble, and the Confederates were surprised that they made no more of their advantage; a rapid and persistent pursuit would have caused a complete rout of the weary and dispirited rebels: two hours more of such fighting as Buell's fresh men could have made, would have demoralized and destroyed Beauregard's army." This writer forgets the state of

the roads, and the fact that if the Federals had gone in pursuit of an enemy retreating in perfect order, and away from the shelter of their gun-boats, these might have turned upon them and prevented their advance.

Among the incidents mentioned to me, was that of a Federal soldier, creeping up to an hospital tent, badly wounded, and asking, as he drew near, if it was a Federal hospital? No, was the reply; but he was invited in, and carefully attended to.

Colonel Adams was wounded above the eye; the ball striking the frontal bone, and glancing off, only stunned him. He was picked up, and put in an ambulance; but the driver, believing him to be dead, threw him into a ditch on the road-side: the cold water revived him, and he called again for aid, and was a second time taken up. On his coming into an hospital

tent, he was again laid aside as dead, the surgeons believing that the ball had penetrated the brain ; but he once more came to, and let them know he was still alive. He was then properly attended to, recovered, and soon rose to the rank of Brigadier-General.

The chiefs of the army, finding Corinth to be too sickly a place to remain at, removed to Tupelo, on the Mobile and Ohio railway.* In the mean time, the sick and the wounded having already filled all the hospitals in Jackson, Mississippi, some of my parishioners proposed receiving into their homes as many as they could conveniently accommodate. A large number came down in the next day's train, poor, feeble, sickly-looking fellows, hardly able to stand ; we gave them such

*.They retired in perfect order with all their stores, guns, ammunition, &c., in the very face of the enemy, and unknown to them.

provisions as we had, while they lay down under the verandah, waiting patiently to be removed to more pleasant quarters. The task of distributing them among the different families devolved upon me, till at length carriages came, in large numbers, to take the poor creatures off. In a few weeks, they almost all returned in good spirits to the army; and their places were successively supplied by new-comers, until an hospital was established at our station with accommodation for about 200 patients. The convalescents of this hospital were again distributed among the different families, and soon recovered. It seemed as if the change from gloomy wards to the cheerful hospitality of a planter's house revived these poor fellows more than the good fare which was always set before them.

Shortly after our arrival at this place,

about the 1st of May, the news of the surrender of the city of New Orleans reached us by means of stragglers who came up; and was confirmed by the crowds which fled the approach of the enemy. All the rolling stock of the railway was taken away from the city, and 25,000,000 dollars belonging to the Banks; 17,000,000 of which went up the road, and the rest was taken up the river Mississippi.

A few incidents connected with the capture of New Orleans were told me by these refugees. General Butler seized upon Count Mejan, the French Consul, and upon the acting British Consul; keeping the former a prisoner in his own house. The captain of the French frigate *Le Milan*, who was, at the time of the bombardment of the Fort Jackson and Fort St Philip, at the mouth of the river, came up to the city with General Butler.

Hearing of the treatment of the French Consul, he at once sent word to the General, "that if in ten minutes the guard set over Count Mejan were not removed, he would at once inform his Government of the outrage." Within the time specified, the guard was dismissed and the Consul released. The English Consul was also set at liberty.

The hanging of Mumford for pulling down the Federal flag from the Mint was a disgrace to humanity. His wife pleading earnestly with the General for her husband's pardon, he told her "to go to the place of execution to receive it;" but instead of witnessing his release, she saw him most cruelly put to death.

The General was incensed to find that all the specie of the Banks had slipped through his hands; hence his cruelty. The Consul for Belgium, who had received monies paid by one of the Banks

of the city, to meet the interest due by the Confederate Government, was seized in his office, and held down, until the key of his safe was obtained from his person, and the money taken from it. He immediately went to Washington to make his complaint, and to obtain redress; and Butler was compelled to disgorge his unlawful prey. The burning of 10,000 bales of cotton in the city, and the destruction or removal of all the sugar on the Levee, was also enough to madden him, who had come to make the citizens a prey to his rapacity.

XV.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

WHEN first we arrived at Terry, provisions were abundant and cheap, but clothing and other supplies, which came from abroad, were daily growing dearer. Salt was £4 per sack; boots, £6 per pair; shoes, £3; common prints, usually worth from 3*d.* to 8*d.* a yard, rose to 3*s.*; and sewing cotton, pins and needles, reached almost fabulous prices. At length, meat could not be purchased for money. The planters had, for some years past, turned their attention to the raising of stock, their milch cows being of the

finest and choicest of breeds ; and though the dairy had previously been so entirely neglected, that they made hardly butter and cheese enough for their own use, this year they sent by every goods-train large quantities to New Orleans, until its capture. Still, though they had whole droves of horned cattle on their farms, and sheep in large numbers, they reserved the former for stall-feeding in the winter, and the latter they kept for the sake of their wool, which was now an indispensable article for domestic manufactures. Thus, though sugar and rice were cheaper than ever, and Indian corn still abundant, all the other necessities of life became dearer.

The great stock and sheep raising States are, Texas, Kentucky, and Tennessee ; the States further south not being so well adapted for it. So scarce did the supply of pork and bacon become, that planters would not even sell it for gold.

Money seemed to have no exchangeable value. A sack of flour brought to a planter's door would more readily open his stores than any other means.

The factories would give their manufactured goods only in exchange for the raw material, and for Indian corn and meat. At last they would sell nothing, preferring to contract to supply the Government with clothing, shoes, &c., for the army. The planters, in this state of affairs, attached no value to money, and the system of barter was extensively adopted among them. During our whole stay among them, they readily divided with us whatever supplies they had; and even sent us tea (which was then selling in Mobile at £4 per pound), and blackberry wine, of which many families made from 30 to 45 gallons each. When we were entirely without meat (except poultry and a few squirrels), our cook, a slave

of course, brought some nice boiled ham on table, for "Massa and Missis;" and when asked where she had obtained it, said that her husband, then in the house, had done some extra work for a planter at a distance, who had meat, and that he had begged him to give him a ham in payment of his wages instead of money.

At this time, the hospital being fully established, I took upon myself the duty of Hospital Chaplain; and here I can unhesitatingly say that the Government made a mistake in appointing chaplains only to the troops in actual service: for in my eighteen months' experience, I found a clergyman's usefulness very much greater in the hospitals than in the camp. Every soldier was supplied with a Bible or New Testament by the agent of the South-western Bible Society in New Orleans; who himself visited the several camps for that express purpose.

They received also some hymn-books, which they at once put to good use, especially of a Sunday evening. But in the hospital, the poor fellows welcomed the pastoral visits of the clergyman ; their faces lighted up with pleasure as he came near, and spake to them the words of life, of pardon, and reconciliation through a Saviour. I would gather together all those who could leave the wards for an hour, to attend divine service in the large hall ; and whenever I went to the couch of a poor sick one, to read and explain some passage of Scripture adapted to his case, and to pray with him, several of the convalescents would also crowd round to listen, and with grateful accents thank me for what I had said. But in my visits to those who were considered dangerously ill, I was left undisturbed.

Governor Brown had recruited a com-

pany of the 18th Mississippi regiment, and with these (the sons of planters in the neighbourhood) had first fought at Bull-run ; and subsequently at Leesburg on the Potomac, and other places. I saw several young men of his company, who came home on short furloughs, both before and after the seven days' fight before Richmond : they gave several particulars connected with the different engagements, and among the rest, the following incident as it occurred at Leesburg. Governor Brown, who had been member of Congress at Washington City until the secession of his State, was well known. To him, after the battle was over, some prisoners, who had been members of Congress as well as himself, expressed their astonishment at meeting him there. " Did I not tell you," he replied, " two or three years ago, that if you continued pressing unconstitutional measures upon us of the

South, we would meet sword in hand at last ?” Having said this, he turned away and left them.

One of the lads, just 18 years old, returning to his regiment after a short furlough, found his musket gone. His captain advised him to leave the ranks ; but he at once said, “ Let me remain, Captain, some poor fellow will soon fall, and I can then take his rifle, and do my duty as a soldier.” At one of the battles before Richmond, the brigade of which the 18th regiment formed a part being held in reserve, this same youth was killed by the explosion of a shell, which severed the spinal marrow, and caused almost instant death. He had been reading his Prayer-book while lying on the ground awaiting orders to advance ; after his death, the leaf was found folded down, at the prayer to be said before a fight against any enemy, which he evidently

had just used. Though mortally wounded, he kindly inquired about the others who were hurt, and then expired. There is an opinion still prevalent in England, as well as in the Northern States, that in all these successive battles before Richmond, the Southerners were most opportunely reinforced by the troops under General Beauregard's command. The Northerners declare that these forces from the south-west must have been on the battle-field: for the successive assaults upon their entrenchments, so daringly made, and so obstinately sustained, could have been kept up only by a Confederate force far superior to that of the Federals under General M'Clellan's command, each successive attack being made by fresh troops held in reserve. We knew, at the time, that General Beauregard, after the masterly retreat from Corinth, had resigned his command, having gone to Bladon

springs, Alabama, to recruit his health; and that General Bragg was appointed to fill his place. These forces remained at Tupelo, until after the seven days of Richmond: and they afterwards formed the main body of that army which attacked General Buell, and finally drove him away from Tennessee to Louisville, Kentucky, subsequently defeating him at the battle of Perryville. So that these terrific assaults, so well sustained, were repeatedly made by the same troops again and again coming to the charge, and always carrying the works. We have this from the lips of those who took part in every fight from Chickahominy to Westbranch, where M'Clellan's forces made a stand, unmolested by the Confederates, until he was able to remove his whole command away from this unsafe position. There was, however, an unexpected ally of the Confederates, whom President Lincoln

seemed to think at so safe a distance, that he need not be feared. General Stonewall Jackson was still in the Valley of Virginia ; but no sooner did he anticipate the coming fight at the Chickahominy, than he was there with his veterans, altogether unexpectedly, to take the enemy in flank. By forced marches, he succeeded in bringing his troops to the aid of the beleaguered forces. Battery after battery was stormed and taken by these impetuous Southerners, and the enemy was compelled to retire from position to position before the fearful onset, until they reached the banks of the James river several miles below.

After the enemy had passed Island No. 10 in the Mississippi river, and the forts below, Memphis being now in their possession, there was a disposition shown on the part of some of the leaders in the South to leave the State of Mississippi

at their mercy (the defence of the river coast being considered by them useless); but the present governor of Mississippi declared that, if no other troops were furnished him, he would with his own brave State soldiers defend the city of Vicksburg to the last extremity. Immediately General Earl Van Dorn, with a large force about 20,000 strong, was despatched to take the command of what became known as the "Army of the Mississippi," for the defence of the coast; he making his head-quarters at Vicksburg, which though already strongly fortified by nature, was rendered doubly so, in order to make a resolute defence. The regiments which composed that force were principally from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama, with some Kentuckians under General Breckenridge. The capture of New Orleans, the key of the Mississippi river, instead of utterly

discouraging the Confederates, only stirred up the whole South to meet the terrible emergency. The iron-clad gunboats ceased to excite the same fears as formerly, because it was now proved that the enemy could not well advance beyond them. They are at best but floating batteries, and if troops ascend in them the rivers in the interior; and then march beyond the cover of these formidable defences, they have to fight at a great disadvantage, being so far from their base of operations on the river.

When the bombardment once commenced under Commodore Farragut, we could distinctly hear, at a distance of 30 miles, the report of the cannon from the forts below the city.* It continued

* The fleet bombarded mostly at night, the glare of the sun through the day preventing the gunners from taking good aim. This may account for the distinctness with which we heard the report of the shore batteries.

for some time, with long intervals between, without causing any very serious damage to private dwellings and churches, and without more than one or two casualties occurring to non-combatants. The citizens of Vicksburg, finding that it was of the utmost importance to make a stand at that point, were even willing to see their town in ruins rather than have the enemy in possession of the country of which it was the stronghold. Thousands of them fled for refuge to all parts of the interior, finding friends everywhere. A few pitched their tents in the suburbs of Jackson, deeming it better than to seek accommodation in the over-crowded hotels, or in private dwellings.

The enemy at one time attempted to cut a canal through a neck of land, designing thus to change the current of the great Mississippi, leaving the channel

opposite the city dry. They also tore up the track of the Vicksburg and Shreveport railway, and used the sleepers and rails to build another road across the same neck of land; but all in vain. The *Ram Arkansas*, which had been quickly removed from Memphis at the approach of the Federals, was transferred to the Yazoo river, there to be finished. When completed, she came down in gallant style, into the Mississippi river, and ran the gauntlet through the whole of the Federal fleet, disposed in battle array, seriously damaging the *Benton* (the shot and shell of the enemy raining upon her like a storm of hail, and glancing off her again without causing much injury); and finally took her position under cover of the shore batteries. A lieutenant on board described the Federals as looking from their quarter-decks in evident admiration of her well-

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directed movements, and at the courage which made her attack the whole fleet in so daring a manner.

At length the Federals withdrew from the contest, after having committed great depredations upon private property on the river bank. They not only burnt down the residence of President Davis, ten miles below Vicksburg, but they destroyed all that they could not take away from the plantation. They shot Mr Johnson as he stood at his front door to protect his family from insult, and his goods from falling a ready prey to their rapacity.

A short time before the possession of the river by the Federals, agents appointed by the Government went up with orders to destroy all the cotton which might by any possibility fall into the enemy's hand. The planters who had not had time to remove theirs far

into the interior, set fire to what they had; and the Hon. John Perkins, member of the Southern Congress, destroyed no less than 1300 bales himself. A wealthy planter, who had bought up 3000 bales in exchange for the sugar on his place, stored it up, being unwilling to see it all burnt; but the agents told him that their orders were peremptory: "no cotton must fall into the hands of the enemy, and least of all any so accessible as his. Be this wanton destruction of property or not, better let it be burnt, than be confiscated for the use of so bitter and unrelenting a foe."

General Van Dorn, leaving most of his troops for the defence of Vicksburg, made his head-quarters at Jackson, the capital of the State, as a more central position, just at the junction of four railways.

At this time, the Federals under General Williams had possession of Bâton Rouge, and there was no Confederate force to prevent their advance in the interior, except the few regiments at Camp Moore on the railway, near the Tangipahoa river. He determined to drive out these intruders, who were plundering the planters for several miles around the town, and threatening others with an early visit. For this purpose, he sent General Breckenridge, who, in concert with the Ram Arkansas, was to dislodge troops and drive away gun-boats at the same time. His force was at first only 3000 strong, and the enemy numbered 6000. When the Confederates came to the rendezvous, where they could command a view of the river, they watched eagerly for the coming of their valuable ally; but she never came in sight, having just been destroyed by her

own officers to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, in her disabled condition, her shaft having been broken on her way down. At length they made the attack unsupported. The Federals were driven to the river bank with the loss of their general, who was killed while fighting at the head of his men. General Van Dorn, receiving a telegram from Baton Rouge, sent additional troops to aid General Breckenridge in dislodging them. At that time I was in Jackson, making application to the general in command for a passport to cross our lines to the Federal pickets: so I went down in the train, with a whole regiment of Zouaves, all Italians or Frenchmen, who had fought, as they told me, in the Crimea and in Italy. It was no doubt the design of our general to hold both sides of the river, above Baton Rouge, so as to command the mouth of the Red

river, by which to obtain supplies for the army from Texas. The Federals withdrew to New Orleans, to defend it, if necessary, against an anticipated attack. Citizens of New Orleans afterwards told us of the great number of wounded brought from the Federal gun-boats to the several city hospitals, showing how terrible a defeat they must have sustained. The defences of Port Hudson have up to this time given the Confederates full control of the Red river; and quantities of flour and droves of cattle, 20,000 at a time, have crossed the Mississippi for the use of the army. Whether General Van Dorn had any designs against the city of New Orleans is very doubtful, as it would not under existing circumstances have long been a tenable position, and could not have been gained without a great sacrifice of human life.

XVI.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE CONCLUDED.

It was now the middle of August, and we were very anxious to reach New Orleans in time to take passage for New York before the setting in of the equinoctial gales, which are always encountered with dread in the Gulf of Mexico. With our passport from the Confederate commander, and a certificate of British citizenship, we hoped to be able to cross the lines of the two armies without much difficulty. Having heard, through passengers from New Orleans, that provisions were very scarce on the line that divided both armies; we

laid in a stock of flour, meal, rice, sugar, and tea, to last our family at least one week, besides supplies for the way. On the morning of the 18th we set off, a party of eight, on our much-dreaded journey, after having bade many a kind farewell to those friends we left behind to endure perhaps greater privations than ever, and to bear with heroic fortitude the loss of those they held as dear as their own lives. We observed, as we journeyed on, that while passengers left us at every station, few seemed to be travelling in the same direction as ourselves. We reached Camp Moore just after the fight of Bâton Rouge; and there we learnt that General Breckenridge's force was encamped in the vicinity. Our passports having been examined by the Provost Marshal, we were allowed to proceed to Pontchatoula, the last station on the road now accessible (the track between that point and Pass Manchac, 10

miles distant, having been in part torn up to prevent the advance of the Federals, who had the command of the Pass). Here we remained all night, and set out early next morning for Madisonville, on the Tchefuncta river, to meet the schooners which carried on a trade with New Orleans from that place. For twenty miles or more, we passed through some of the poorest pinewood lands we had ever seen : there were few important farms, and not many cattle grazing ; all looked desolate and poverty-stricken. In times of peace, the whole of this barren tract of country received its supplies, either from New Orleans or by rail from Mississippi, in exchange for firewood, charcoal, turpentine, and resin. We could hardly realize that we were in the low alluvial lands of Louisiana, only 50 miles from the Mississippi river. On our way to Madisonville, we met two companies of Louisiana rangers,

commonly called guerillas, well mounted, armed with rifles and double-barrelled guns, some having Colt's revolvers at their belts: they were not in uniform, and though fine-looking fellows, had more the appearance of hunters than of soldiers. We had to show our passport to a party of them, stationed at a ford on the Tangipahoa river; and then again to another party at Madisonville. When we reached that place, we found no schooner ready to leave: we tried to get to a boarding-house, but were told that there were no provisions in the place; that the Federals had quite recently shelled the town; and that no farmers from the upper country would send in supplies of any kind. We secured a lodging, however, and fared well on the provisions we had brought with us, with the addition of a daily supply of milk, which we managed to get from an old negro woman. We met with great kindness

from these strangers, who were more destitute than ourselves. Finding some of them to be members of the Church, I proposed holding divine service for them daily, until my departure; this offer was gladly accepted, the church having been closed for eighteen months. I officiated several times to large and attentive congregations, and baptized many children. At length, after one week's detention, the super-cargo of a schooner lying at the wharf having returned from Jackson, Mississippi, with a permit to leave for the enemy's lines, we set out on the morning of the 25th August, in his little craft of about 35 tons, laden with firewood both below and on deck; there were 52 passengers on board, without any provisions, or any accommodation but a small cabin, which afforded anything but comfort. Just before we got out of the river into Lake Pontchartrain, a fearful gale from

the South, accompanied by torrents of rain, came upon us, and the women and children were forced to take refuge below until the rain ceased; shortly afterwards, one of the ladies observed a leak on the floor of the cabin, and cautiously calling one of the gentlemen of our party, pointed it out to him. On examination, he found that the bottom plank of the boat was rotten, and could hardly be repaired: he therefore begged of the captain to attend to the matter quietly and speedily, without alarming any of the passengers; but the man was so frightened, that he could do nothing. At last two of the gentlemen present undertook carefully to stop the leak, as the water was fast gaining upon us: the wind was still directly ahead, and we had no alternative left but to drive before the gale, and take refuge at Pass Manchac. It was observed by the gentleman first mentioned, that the vessel was

leaking as badly as ever. He therefore readily persuaded the master of the craft to throw off the deck-load to ease her; which was done accordingly, the passengers all lending a hand in throwing it into the swamp. We stayed in that dreary spot till midnight, without food, drenched to the skin, and exposed to the fury of the storm. The captain and his crew, all foreigners, set to work of their own free will, to lighten the vessel of the rest of her load. Imagination would fail to picture this dark and dreary scene—the forest with its dense undergrowth spreading out for miles around us; the soil just on a level with the waters of the lake; no sound but the screech of the owls, and the dull working of the pumps, to break the dead silence and loneliness of the spot; no human habitation within 15 or 20 miles; no refreshment of any kind for that weary and dispirited group, many of

whom had tasted nothing for nearly 24 hours ! At length, at about 3 A.M., the water-logged craft was taken out of the Pass, in hopes of catching the morning breeze, which would take us to the city. By 7 A.M., Tuesday, August 26th, we reached the canal. The sight of Federal soldiers on guard was painful to us. We felt ourselves to be in an enemy's land; and more than ever, as we heard the conversation between the Federal officer and our super-cargo as follows: "Where is your cargo?" "I left it in the swamp, the boat being in a sinking condition." "Who are these persons?" His reply was, "Parties who had waited a long time at Madisonville for conveyance to the city." "Why did you not leave them in the swamp, and bring in your crazy vessel alone with its cargo? go out at once in search of that with another craft." They left us in the canal, and proceeded to obey

orders. Several of our fellow passengers were very roughly handled; some being at once sent to prison for refusing as foreigners to take the oath of allegiance. My certificate of British citizenship made them treat me and mine with more courtesy. We heard the people talking of the defeat of Stonewall Jackson by Pope in the Valley of Virginia; we brought a different version of this story with us, but we dared not utter a word, with a guard set upon us. As soon as we reached the city, I obtained a passport for myself and family, to enable us to leave by the first vessel in which we could secure a passage to England direct, or to New York. We were detained for more than a month at New Orleans, partly by sickness, brought on by exposure, partly by our inability to secure an immediate passage. During this eventful month, I had frequent opportunities of learning the state of feeling among the

citizens, and of inquiring into the effects produced by General Butler's despotic rule. There were at that time but few young men in the city, except those who, as parolled prisoners, or as persons unfit to go to war, were detained there.

Having occasion, during the first week of my stay, to be much among the shipping, I could not but draw a contrast between the present and the former condition of things. Frequently, in the course of fifteen years past, have I seen vessels at the wharf, lying six deep for at least five miles along the river ; now there was but here and there a ship waiting for a cargo, and gun-boats and transports lying at the wharf, or anchored in the middle of the river. The crowds of vessels which came in with assorted cargoes, in expectation of reaping a fine harvest, found the city market soon overstocked, and prices far below New York quotations. If they looked for

a return cargo, not a bale of cotton was to be seen ; and the greater part of the sugar in the market had been bought up by Jacob Barker and Colonel Butler, with Confederate notes taken up by them (at the time General Butler forbade their further circulation) at 75 per cent. discount. These ships had to wait at least a month for freight, and then had to leave half laden. Colonel Butler having large quantities of sugar stored away, could control freights ; so that, in a short time, he shipped all he had at $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollar per hogshead (the ruling freights having first been 16 dollars per hogshead). The shipping masters denounced this interference with lawful traffic by speculators in the army, and abused Colonel Butler and his brother in no measured terms ; but they were powerless, and had to leave without chance of redress, and to return home to their disappointed owners, heartily condemning

General Butler. So eager was this man to obtain cotton, that he issued an order offering to buy it, even if it belonged to John Slidell. The wharves showed in many places the ravages of the fire caused by the burning of the cotton on the first of May. Grass was growing in the most busy thoroughfares. All the cotton presses but one were idle ; and that one was used to press rags into bales for the paper-makers. General Butler got possession of the city without firing a gun ; beyond its limits his jurisdiction did not for a long time extend. Texas and Louisiana rangers sweep the country and keep him from penetrating into Confederate territory. His gun-boats may burn and destroy plantation crops, buildings, &c., on the river banks and on the bayous ; but beyond that they are utterly powerless.

Foreigners are permitted to carry on a trade with a few ports across the lake, by

paying a certain sum into the General's hands before clearing. By these and other means, he has no doubt realized a large sum of money, estimated by some at from two to three million dollars. His exercise of arbitrary power was not only tyrannical, but in some instances amounted to savage cruelty. He sent Dr Symes, an extensive dealer in drugs, to Fort Pickens, for six years, for selling a few hundred ounces of quinine and morphine to parties supposed to be Confederate agents; his confidential clerk, who reported the fact at head-quarters, received, as his reward, full control over the affairs of the establishment. Again, Messrs Wright and Allen, wealthy commission merchants, were sent to the Fort, for shipping a quantity of silver plate, by the ship *Essex*, for Liverpool; the plate was seized, the vessel detained, and the other valuable private property of the parties taken from their homes. The

agents for the *Essex* claimed damages for the detention of the vessel, and for the losses incurred by delay, and obtained them. While at the Provost Marshal's office, I witnessed the administration of the allegiance to a large number of foreigners, chiefly of the poorer class. A friend of the Provost Marshal, standing by, asked him, "What good could possibly result by such accessions to the Northern cause?" The reply was, "One object is to manufacture a public opinion favourable to the North; and we begin with such materials as these." Having just arrived from the Confederacy, it was interesting for me to witness the eagerness with which friends of the cause came to hear the news from the interior; it seemed as though, almost to a man, these citizens and their families were ready to suffer the loss of all they had, rather than submit to an authority so detested by them. Frequently, as we

walked the streets together, our steps were followed by agents of the secret police, ready to take us up for a word. A few days before the time appointed for the taking of the oath, many of the citizens, in great perplexity, met together to discuss the question, whether or not, in submitting as Christians to the powers that be, they could conscientiously take the oath. On the 23rd, going into one of the religious depositories, I found several ministers of the Presbyterian denomination conversing on this topic, and striving to find out what was the line of duty in this terrible emergency. The majority were not in favour of submission, and yet unwilling to advise others to pursue the same course. They felt disposed to continue the discharge of their duties as men of peace, and hoped to do so unmolested; beyond that they could not go.

At length the day, so much dreaded,

dawned upon the devoted city. Ten thousand persons, men and women, even girls of eighteen, took the oath which was imposed upon them, to escape the indignities which would be heaped upon them as avowed enemies, under such a despotism. Many fathers of families did not come forward, even at the risk of losing the little they possessed ; but their wives and daughters, in many instances, submitted in order to save the wreck of their property. Respite was given to these recalcitrants until the 1st of October, when, under the pressure of necessity which few of them could before have realized, many more reluctantly yielded.

I asked a Black Republican who had just declared the opinion that the Confederacy was played out, "What would be done with the Southerners, if they resisted to the last ?" "They would be driven into

the Gulf of Mexico by the victorious arms of the North, and the emancipated slaves would remain to till the soil," was the reply. "But in the event of their refusing to work, and becoming a burden to the white man, what would be the remedy?" He answered, "they must be exterminated, as were the Indians before them."

There appeared in Butler's organ, *The Delta*, a bitter attack upon the clergy of the Episcopal Church in the city, full of personal abuse, which was repeated with even more virulence in the next day's issue. Some of the clergy determined, in the event of an interruption of the services by an official, to close the church doors, give up the Sunday schools, and limit themselves to pastoral work among their flocks until better times. They had, in order to avoid giving unnecessary

offence to the authorities, omitted, since the capture of the city, the prayer for the President of the Confederacy, and all in authority; but this did not satisfy General Butler. He must strike a bold stroke at treason in the pulpit; and to that end must cut off the most influential among the clergy, making them a terror to all their inferiors. Accordingly, on Sunday, October the 4th, the chief of General Butler's staff went into St Paul's, opposite the Resident head-quarters, resolving to give the minister a full opportunity to read the prayer for the President of the United States; and when it was omitted, he rose, and enjoining silence on the clergyman, he dismissed the congregation in the name of the commander of the department of the Gulf. When sent for, the rector avowed to the General that he was an uncompromising secessionist,

but that, to avoid difficulties, he strove so to act as to give no unnecessary offence to their rulers. He was dismissed by the General on his parole, and was subsequently sent with two of his colleagues to New York as prisoners, to be dealt with by the Government as became such traitors. Why the Presbyterian ministers, who were equally opposed to the Northern Government, escaped so easily, can soon be understood. Having no regularly appointed form of service enjoined upon them by the law of their community, the same hold cannot be taken of them as traitors to the Northern Government. Besides which, the Episcopal Church has always been known as eminently conservative and truly loyal; so that such a flagrant exhibition of disloyalty must at once meet with condign punishment. Such were the losses incurred by ship-

owners, in their first ventures to the city after its surrender to the Federals, that few will again attempt to ship cargoes of supplies thither ; especially as there could be no reasonable prospect of securing return freights. The condition of the few inhabitants remaining at New Orleans will soon be most deplorable. Here is a picture of the state of things up to November 6th, 1862. " Now, however, things are changed. A war is upon us, whose duration and effects it is impossible to foresee. Situated at one of the outposts, this city is circumstanced as no place else. All our business was of a commercial nature. As one of the great gate-ways between a vast and fertile country and foreign nations, boundless wealth passed through our hands, which gave us occupation and a lucrative activity. All this is now cut off. The

country immediately around us is in hostile hands; and little by little, the accumulated savings which had been hoarded up are disappearing to meet pressing wants; the condition of the labouring class, who have no means, and who suffered most from General Butler's arbitrary interference with the currency, is deplorable. House-rent may be counted as nothing; for the city is in a great measure depopulated, and may become more so. Houses are empty everywhere, and soon tenants may become valuable who will just keep the dwellings from perishing. The present is not absolute want; it is the immediate future we dread."

A short time after the 24th of September, a widow lady, who had large deposits in a bank, went to draw a cheque for her present urgent necessities. She

was at once asked if she had taken the oath; and replying in the negative, was told that she could draw nothing, and that her funds would be confiscated if she did not submit before the 1st of October. Feeling that she could not conscientiously comply, she was ready to sacrifice her all, though her friends strongly advised her to remember what was due to herself and those dependent upon her.

On the morning of the 28th September, after all fears of the equinoctial gales had passed away, we set sail for New York. On our way down the river we noticed some very extensive sugar plantations, of which, we were told, General Butler had taken possession, and was now cultivating them on his own account. After a stormy passage of three weeks, kept in constant dread of Confederate cruisers, especially in the Gulf, we reached New York harbour in safety.

Having been thus for two months on our journey, and having passed through many and great dangers, both by land and sea, we hoped that now that we were within reach of steamers for Europe, our difficulties were in a great measure over. During our residence in the Confederacy, all important news was immediately spread far and wide, and the accounts were always to be relied on; whereas, in New Orleans, none but garbled statements of current events reached us. We were therefore very anxious to get the latest news which had found its way to New York by the time of our arrival. The battle of Antietam, or Sharpsburg, and the passage of arms at Perryville, were the only two battles of importance which had taken place while we were on our way homeward.

What a striking contrast between the city of New York and the cities of the

South was set before us as we landed here! All was peace, activity, and industry: no gloomy sights, no stagnation of business, no interruption of ordinary traffic, were observable. The living tide of human beings was streaming up and down Broadway and the other principal thoroughfares, as though the noise of war and the tumult of deadly conflict had never reached their ears from a distance. No troops were to be seen in the streets, except occasionally a poor decrepid or broken-down soldier, to remind the spectator that one of the most bitter and cruel of civil wars was raging in all its fury in the heart of this great country: large crowds of young men seemed to be thronging the side-walks, in holiday attire, as though their country had no special need of their services. It mattered not whether this prosperity was all founded upon a solid basis; it was there

still, and to the casual observer was just as real: but on mingling with the more substantial business men in social intercourse, an anxious foreboding of evil seemed to brood over them. The fevered excitement of an impending election, in which the Conservatives bade fair, as they had just done in many of the Western States, to gain the day, checked for a time the arbitrary exercise of power on the part of the rulers. Just after the successive defeats at Richmond, the city seemed to be virtually under a reign of terror; any one who dared to give expression to opinions or sentiments distasteful to those high in authority, did so at the peril of being torn from his family, and consigned to a military dungeon for an indefinite period. Just at this time, however, the press was free; the leading papers of the city dared openly to advocate the cause of Conservatism, and cry

strongly for peace. The Conservatives to a man deplored the war. They admired the noble stand the South had taken, and praised their leaders, expressing more especially their admiration of General Stonewall Jackson, as the "Havelock of America." All sought eagerly that news from the interior, which hitherto the press, muzzled by the authorities, had never fully given them: they distrusted it, not because it was venal, but for the imperfect and unreliable information which, as the publishers themselves admitted, it constantly gave. Their special correspondents were, for a time, not allowed to be present with the army and to follow its march, lest they should have nought but defeats and reverses to record. The course pursued by the leaders of the Southern army was altogether different. They gladly welcomed the correspondents of the leading European journals, hoping

by their means to present things before the world as they really were. The boasted victories at Antietam and at Perryville melted away like visions of the night before the early dawn. General Buell was at once replaced by General Rosencrantz, who was admitted to be the ablest General in the Northern army, and who is now in command of the Federal forces in the West. The Conservatives of New York, with Governor Seymour at their head, will, we feel assured, do their part, as far as in them lies, to remove all reasonable obstacles to a lasting peace. It was not they who provoked the war; being neither demagogues nor mere politicians, they had left the Government in the hands of others, who let the ships of the State drift among the breakers, proving their incapacity to manage the helm in the storm which they themselves had raised. Thus the war

party have brought on a fearful crisis in State affairs. The men who had any knowledge of statesmanship were rudely thrust aside; and scheming politicians, ignorant and incapable, usurped their places. Now that the ship is passing through a terrible storm, with breakers ahead ready to dash it to pieces, the time is come indeed for a skilful pilot to take the command. If there is any man able and willing to face the danger and to assume the whole of the responsibility in trying to save his country from a total wreck, that man must show more firmness, more true wisdom, and more regard for the interests of all under his command, than those who are now in power. It is not to be denied that the leading Conservatives still look forward to a re-construction of the Union, to a speedy restoration of the state of things as they were before the war: they are already directing their

earnest efforts towards the accomplishment of that object which lies nearest to their hearts. But even they, truly alive as they are to the interests of their country, must know, after the many military reverses they have met with, that they are fondly clinging to a delusion. The South never can, and never will again form a part of that great confederacy of States which extended from the lakes to the Mexican Gulf, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. Her children have passed through great suffering, even privations almost without parallel; they have sacrificed on the altar of freedom many a life as dear to them as their own; and they still stand in an attitude of resolute defence to protect their native soil, never again, we hope, to be desolated by hostile armies of their own race and kindred. We trust too that this lesson will not be lost upon the Conservatives

of the North, the earnest, thoughtful Christian men of the land; and if so, if they only succeed in wresting power from the hands of those unfit to wield it, and who have abused it for the worst of purposes, the ordeal through which they have now passed will not have been in vain. May we not hope that the masses of the people will cease to be led away by unprincipled demagogues, and henceforth will seek to entrust the power of government into the hands of those who are capable of wielding it, and true patriots enough not to abuse it!

We left New York by the steamship *Hansa*, on the 25th October, 1862. Among the passengers, we found many who had taken part in several of the battles on either side. Of the Southerners, I found Kentuckians who had been in the engagement at Perryville; many of those who had been taken

prisoners at Fort Donelson having fought in it. The object of General Bragg was to secure the road from Danville to Cumberland Gap, while that of General Buell was, if possible, to cut them off. General Bragg remained master of the field, but withdrew with all his forces, stores, &c., in the direction of the Gap. He was however replaced by General Joseph Johnson, and appointed to some other and important command. The new commander is deemed to be a fit opponent to General Rosencrantz: he was second in command at the battle of Bull-run, acting in concert with General Beauregard; but in consequence of a severe wound received at the battle of June 24th, he was not prepared for active duty until now. The recent signal defeat of General Burnside before Fredericksburg has produced the same effect in New York, as the disasters before

Richmond in July last, showing the state of alarm which exists in the Cabinet of President Lincoln.

We feel assured that President Davis appreciates the great abilities of General Johnson, when he assigns to him what may be called the post of danger, "the defence of the western frontier."

Recent events show that the Conservatives of New York, with Governor Seymour as their leader, are anxious to bring about a lasting peace. They have urged upon the authorities in the State of New Jersey, the expediency of calling a convention composed of representatives from all the loyal States, at the same time interposing no obstacle to a representation from the States further south. This shows, on the one hand, a decided disapproval of the policy pursued by the faction in power, and on the other a disposition to effect, if possible, a speedy

settlement of all difficulties, so far as it rests with them. The reign of terror in New York city is already at an end; the Governor having viewed the action of the General Government as an invasion of the rights of a sovereign State. The recall of General Butler from his command is a concession to the same power; and the appointment of General N. P. Banks is as wise and politic a step for the best interests of the North, as that of General Butler was prejudicial to them. The catalogue of Butler's cruelties and crimes is before the world, and by that tribunal he is condemned already. Posterity will judge of his acts, without mingling any of the bitterness which their recent occurrence necessarily produces in the minds of his contemporaries.

After a stormy passage of eleven days, we arrived at Cowes on the 6th

of November, 1862. The steam ship *Hansa* then took her departure for Bremen, leaving us in a dense fog to make up our way to Southampton, where we arrived the same evening, with a large proportion of our fellow-passengers.

THE END.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

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